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A SHORT OUTLINE
OF THE
HISTORY OF RUSSIA

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A SHORT OUTLINE
OF THE
HISTORY OF RUSSIA

BY

B. J. L.

Lawson

IN TWO VOLUMES

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SHORT OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF RUSSIA

CHAPTER I

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUNTRY

THE eastern half of Europe presents the appearance of vast level regions, whose boundaries are comprised within the White, the Baltic, the Black, and the Caspian Seas, and three chains of mountains—the Ural, the Caucasian, and the Carpathian. This peculiar aspect, uninterrupted by any natural obstacles, has in no small degree aided in forming one immense Empire; only towards the central parts of these wide plains the soil becomes hilly, and has been designated as the Alavon Heights. That locality is the source of the chief Russian streams, with their countless tributaries, which flow into the seas above mentioned. This abundance of river water has had an important influence on the history of the country; for, along the current of these streams, tribes of various races settled and spread civilisation—in fact, rivers served as the principal means of communication. A thousand years ago the whole Northern half of Russia, remarkable for its cold and rigorous climate, was covered with dense forests, as well as numerous lakes and marshes. In the Southern half were boundless Steppes, partly overgrown with tall grass, and partly covered with sand and salt. Towards the East, between the Ural Mountains and the Caspian Sea, the Russian Steppes join the vast plains of Central Asia, whence there constantly issued unhindered roving Asiatic races.

Till the reign of Peter the Great (1682-1725) the territory within these boundaries formed the chief theatre of Russian history. That history had a shadowy traditional commencement at the ancient town of Novgorod. Next the scene of action was removed southwards to Kiev, surnamed the baptismal-font of Russia, for there Christianity was first introduced. Then the chief centre of Russian life was transferred to the north-eastern capital of Vladimir-Souzdal, and, last of all, supreme power was concentrated around Moscow.

That territory between the river Oka and the upper current of the Volga became the birthplace of the 'Great Russian Races.' A tolerably mild climate and a rich black soil, distinguishing the southern part of the Alavon Plains, particularly favoured the progress of agriculture amongst the inhabitants of Southern Russia, or the 'Little Russian Races,' as they are more frequently denominated. But, on the other hand, the near neighbourhood of the Steppes, and the constant inroads of rapacious tribes, did not promote the confirmation of settled Government, or the advance of civilisation. On the contrary, the 'Great,' or 'Central Russian Races,' occupied a region whose climate is tolerably rigorous, and where the soil demands more labour for its cultivation, but where there are, notwithstanding, numerous navigable streams. Thus did the inhabitants of that less gifted tract become remarkable for energy of character and capacity for diversified occupation. It was especially in this Northern Region that the Russian State was consolidated and gradually became strong.

CHAPTER II

CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY NOW KNOWN BY THE NAME OF RUSSIA TILL THE MIDDLE OF THE NINTH CENTURY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

ON examining the map of Russia, we remark that from the termination of the Ural Mountains to the Caspian Sea there are boundless level Steppes, which, so to speak, are as wide entrances from Asia to Europe. In these regions towards the east there still dwell many uncultivated races, who rove about, plunder, or take prisoners from neighbouring tribes. But at present these marauders find it more and more difficult to carry on robbery, because the powerful Russian Empire no longer tolerates their incursions. Not only so; many of these races have gradually abandoned an unsettled life, and are now occupied with agriculture. But in ancient times, in that vast country now called 'European Russia,' there was no kingdom, properly so called. There was no settled population. Hordes of wandering marauders constantly moved about freely from East to West, and peopled the southern part of Russia. Sometimes, too, these hordes of barbarians appeared in countless numbers, and, marching still further onwards, they devastated Southern and Western Europe. Ancient civilised nations, such as the Greeks and Romans, knew these barbarians. But in general the ancients had very vague, incorrect information concerning Northern countries, and that information was greatly mixed with fable.

However, the darkness of fable begins to disappear from the epoch when the

Greeks formed colonies along the shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoph. The colony of Olvia was near the mouth of the Dnieper. Panticapia and Phanagoria were near the Straits of Taurida. Tanais was near Azoph; the famous Hersonese near Sevastople. Herodotus states that in the regions now forming the Russian governments (provinces) of Ekaterinoslavl and Herson there dwelt the Cimmerians, supposed to be of the same race as the German Cimbri. The Scythians at first occupied the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea; but they were repulsed from these regions by the Massagetes. The Scythians accordingly advanced onwards to Europe, and established themselves between the Don and the Danube. Beyond the Don, in the present Steppes of Astrachan, lived the Sarmatians. Further towards the east were many roving races.

In the course of time the Scythians and Sarmatians became formidable to the Greeks and Romans. (The Greeks formed colonies on the shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoph considerably previous to the Christian era; some say 400 years B.C.) Herodotus incorrectly gave the name of Scythia to the whole of European and part of Asiatic Russia. Roman geographers, however, called these regions Sarmatia. The Romans then incorrectly applied that name to the whole of Northern Europe, which the Greeks then designated as Scythia.

‘Remembrances of the Scythians,’ says Ilovaiski, in his *Brief Outlines of Russian History*, p. 3, ‘are still to be found in all the southern parts of Russia. These remembrances are the so-called “koorgans,” or “Scythian tombs.” Many have been opened and have been found to contain skeletons and different articles made of metal. On some of these tombs have also been found rudely sculptured figures of women. But these are hardly of Scythian origin. North from the Scythians and Sarmatians—according to the fabulous information of ancient writers—there dwelt the Nevri, the Androphagi, or cannibals, the Melanchleni or Black Mantles, the Geloni, the Boodini, and others. (The Melanchleni may perhaps have been a Finnish race of Esthonians, in whose dress black predominates till the present day.) Of these races, most extravagant reports were current among the Greeks and Romans. For example, they affirmed that in the far North there dwelt a happy people named the Hiperbori, who fed on the juice of flowers and dew, lived for several centuries, and at length put an end to their life by plunging into the waves of the sea.’

THE GOTHS

After the birth of Christ, the incursions of many different races took place. Their movements were chiefly from East to West. During the third century of the Christian era, the terrible Goths marched from the Baltic Sea to the South.

They filled Rome with dread of their fierceness and cruelty. Finally, tired of devastating, they founded a kingdom which extended from the Black Sea to the Baltic.

THE HUNNS

In the fourth century of the Christian era, Europe was invaded by the Hunns. They moved onwards from Northern China and carried fire and sword into the provinces of Rome. So great was the terror the Hunns inspired, that Hermanrik, King of the Goths, killed himself, in order to avoid being captured and made a slave. Fire, murder, and ruin marked the passage of the fierce Attila. He subdued all the country from the Volga to the Rhine, and from Macedonia to the Baltic Sea. But with the death of that formidable barbarian the power of the Hunns terminated.

THE OOGRI AND BOLGARES OR BULGARES

Moved onwards from the Ural Mountains, conquered Taureda and the country along the shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoph.

THE SLAVONIANS—THE VENEDIANS—THE ANTI

Meanwhile, the attention of history turns towards the Slavonians. According to a Gothic historian, Iordan, who lived during the sixth century of the Christian era, and also from the testimony of Byzantine writers, the Slavonians, the Venedians, and the Anti had a common origin. The Anti inhabited the northern regions of the Black Sea. The Venedians were along the Vistula and south of the Baltic; but, doubtless, the Slavonians also were in the same neighbourhood as these two races—*i.e.* in the north-west of the present Russia. They distinguished themselves by no particular enterprise, and seemed, as it were, hidden from history till the close of the fifth and beginning of the sixth centuries. At that epoch a passion for plunder instigated the Slavonians to move southwards. They harassed the Eastern Roman Empire for the space of thirty years; and none could oppose the devastation and slaughter occasioned by these Northern barbarians.

THE AVARES, OR HUNN-OOGRI

But at last the Slavonians found formidable enemies in the Hunn-Oogri, as they called themselves, taking the names of their former rulers. The Slavonians of the Danube were obliged to maintain a bloody warfare with these new-comers, and finally resolved to move towards the North to those of their own race. From this epoch dates the dispersion of the Slavonians in all parts of Europe.

CHAPTER III

THE DIFFERENT RACES, INHABITANTS OF ANCIENT RUSSIA, DURING THE NINTH CENTURY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

AT the commencement of Russian history—*i.e.* during the ninth century of the Christian era—Eastern Europe was peopled by various nations, first of whom we distinguish

THE SLAVONIANS

‘They formed the Eastern branch of that great Slavonian nation,’ says Ilovaiski, p. 4, ‘which, from time immemorial, had occupied the vast region extending from the Upper Volga to the Adriatic Sea. The Russian Slavonians had settled in the wide tract of land between the Lakes Ilmen and Peipus to the Lower Dnieper and Dniester. These Slavonians were divided into different tribes. Those who had selected an abode on the central current of the Dnieper (in the present Russian government of Kiev) were called Poliāni, from the fields (*polé* in Russ) in these regions. The tribes on the rivers Soj and the Oka were called Radimetchi and Viatitchi, from their chiefs Radeem and Viatko. At the north-west from the Poliani were the Drevliens (in Volhynia), so named from *děrevo*, a tree, alluding to dense forests in these regions. At the east and north-east, along the rivers Loola and Desna, were the Leveriani. On the Western Boog (a tributary of the Vistula) were the Boojani. On the Upper Dnieper, the Western Dvina, the Volga, the Preepet, and Lake Ilmen, were the Krivitchi—the most numerous tribe of all—so named from Krivi, the chief priest of the Northern idolaters. On the Dniester were the Livotitchi and Tivertzi. But the Slavonian tribes near Lake Ilmen retained their own name of Slavonians. In the country of the Krivitchi we find the towns of Smolensk, Pototzk, and the subsequently famous Novgorod (*novi*, new; *gōrod*, a town), founded at an unknown period. The Poliani, too, at an epoch unmentioned in history, had built a capital, Kiev, on the right bank of the Dnieper. According to popular tradition, Kiev’s three founders were brothers Kii, Tschek, and Horev. Their sister was named Libedia.’

Nestor, a monk of Kiev (ninth century), the earliest historian of Russia, mentions many other races of Slavonians. They chiefly dwelt apart, and constantly carried on civil war with each other. Supreme power, vested in one individual, was as yet unknown to them.

THE LITHUANIANS

West from the Krivitchi, along the Western Dvina, the Niemen, and the Lower Vistula, dwelt the Lithuanians. 'Their language proves that they were of Slavonian origin,' says Ilovaiski (p. 6).

THE FINNS

The whole of Northern Russia, from the Baltic Sea to the Ural Mountains, was peopled by Finnish (Tschood) races. Previously the Finns had dwelt much further south; but the Slavonians and other people had forced them to remove northwards. The principal Finnish tribe was that of the Tschoods, near the Gulf of Finland. Further onwards, along the upper and middle current of the Volga, were the tribes of the Ves, the Meri, the Movrom, and the Mordvi. On the upper current of the Northern Dvina and the Kama lay the districts of the people of Perm (Biarma, in Scandinavian Sagas). The races inhabiting Perm were sometimes also called Zuriani. The language of the Finns proves that they spring from Turkish races, supposed to come from the vicinity of the Altaian Mountains. Scattered about in small groups in a cold, woody, essentially marshy country, the Finns could scarcely obtain subsistence, and were often forced to eat the bark of trees and the flesh of unclean animals.

Religion of the Finns

The idolatrous religion of the Finns was simple adoration of natural objects. Their chief deity was Ioomāla or Ukko, god of heaven, thunder, and lightning. At a remote period the Finns had worshipped idols made of wood or stone, bearing a rude representation of the human form. The Finns considered the so-called shamans, or sorcerers, as mediators between mortals and the gods. These shamans had the reputation of wizards. They formed an order of priests or sacrificers belonging to the first stages of civilisation. In Russian annals these shamans are mentioned as magicians. The Finns were a poorly endowed race, both morally and physically. Their countenances, too, were ugly and sullen, like their Northern country. Notwithstanding, the songs or runes of the Finns display a considerably rich imagination, inclining to quiet domestic life and family virtue. It is remarkable that the chief heroes of Finnish epic narrations, for the greater part, are magicians, singers, or expert blacksmiths. Three heroes of Finnish song, known as 'Kaluvāli,' were the sage Veinemeinen, the blacksmith Ilmārin, and the singer Leiminkein. And, sure enough, the blacksmith's art was widely diffused among the Finns, so that Finnish swords were famous in all the North.

THE TURKISH TARTAR RACES—THE KOZARS AND BOLGARES

The whole of South-Eastern Russia was inhabited by Turkish races, allied to the Finns. The chief among these races were the Kozars and the Bolgares, named from the river Volga. At a remote epoch the Bolgares had separated from their fellow-tribe the Kozars, and occupied the region of the Lower Kama. The Bolgares had embraced the Mohammedan religion during the tenth century, had carried on trade with Oriental sovereigns, and had attained a considerable degree of civilisation. In their country were several commercial towns; one especially was famous. It was called Great Bulgaria, on the left bank of the Volga, below the mouth of the Kama. But the Kozars formed a more extensive and powerful State. They were ruled by a supreme commander, or Kagan, who, along with his family, professed the Jewish religion. The Kozars partly led a roving life, settled in nomad tents, and partly lived in towns. The chief capital of the Kozars was Itel, or Balangiar, at the mouth of the Volga. Thither merchants from different countries of Europe and Asia wended their steps, and carried on commerce. Besides these inhabitants above mentioned, different nomad races occupied the Steppes near the Ural Mountains, the Caspian and the Black Seas. These tribes harassed one another. Ultimately they removed to Southern Russia, or still further towards the West. Such were the Oogri, the Petschenegues, the Polootzi, and others.

THE VARYAGHEANS (NORMANS)

Meanwhile, the Slavonians of Novgorod saw themselves threatened with danger from the North. In that direction appeared the Varyagheans, so remarkable in the history of Russia.

In distant Northern Europe, in countries known to the ancients by the name of Scandinavia, and now forming the kingdoms of Sweden and Norway, there lived from time immemorial numerous races, brought up in wild freedom and in the simplicity of nature. They grew up in a rigorous climate, amid dense forests, among rocks and mountains covered with snow and ice. These hardy sons of the North were strong and bold. They did not yet know the advantages of agriculture, or the pleasure of quiet settled life. They knew neither science nor the arts of peace. They despised all save arms, and were only glad to plunder or to shed blood. The stern but magnificent scenes of Nature surrounding Scandinavia, and especially the songs of the Scalds, or native minstrels, extolling robbery by sea and land, excited the imagination of these men of the North, and urged them to make war or to undertake daring enterprises. For a lengthened period the

Scandinavians acted only within the limits of their own country, and therefore were but little known to the rest of Europe. But at last, during the eighth century of the Christian era, they appeared on the stage of history by the name of Normans. They became formidable from their conquests, and were known to all Europe. They devastated England, Germany, France, Spain, Italy, and Sicily. They carried their arms to Africa, and, despising the storms of the sea, penetrated by the Northern Ocean to Greenland and to America. At this epoch of Norman heroism, the Novgorodian Slavonians, the Krivitchi, and neighbouring Finnish races could no longer defend themselves from the all-powerful foe. Swarms of Varyagheans (as they are called by Nestor) or Normans poured into Northern Russia, and levied tribute on the tribes of the Tschood, the Meri, the Krivitchi, and the Slavonians of Novgorod.

The famous Russian historian, Karamzine, thinks that the name Varyaghean is derived from the word *valre*, an alliance; for the Normans who invaded Russia, and penetrated even to Greece, to seek their fortune with armed hand, may have called themselves Varyagheans, *i.e.* allies or assistants. Or, Varyaghean may be derived from *varjager*, a mounted hunter—a daring adventurer.

THE VARYAGHEAN-ROUSSI

The Novgorodian Slavonians, as well as the Finnish tribes of the Tschoods, the Meri, and the Ves, thus paid tribute to the Normans. But at length the spirit of freedom awoke among the Slavonians. They armed themselves and shook off the yoke of the invaders. Notwithstanding, although the Slavonians thus obtained their own independence, they did not know how to make use of it. Frightful civil discord soon broke out among them. Thus they resolved to choose for themselves a prince from among the Varyaghean-Roussi, from whom the name Russia is by some said to be derived. This name was at first only given to the country around Lake Ilmen, or that of the Novgorodian Slavonians.

According to popular tradition, an elder of Novgorod, called Gostomisl, advised his countrymen to choose a foreign prince as sovereign.

The above-mentioned derivation of the word Russia has, however, been much contested, and has caused no little disputation among the learned. Much controversy has taken place on the subject. Some affirm that the Varyaghean-Roussi took their name from Roslagen in Sweden, or from Kurisch Haff at the mouth of the Memel. Kurisch Haff was called Roussna by the Prussians. They gave the name of Porusié (Prussia) to the country along the northern branch of the Niemen, designed as Russ. Karamzine tries to reconcile these opinions by giving ancestors to the Prussians in form of Scandinavians of Roslagen. Indeed, Russian

historians are divided into two hostile camps, *i.e.* partisans of the Norman and of the Slavonian origin of the Russians.

The late Professor Pogodine was always called 'the venerable champion of Normanism'; while Ilovaiski, another learned Russian historian, maintains that no foreign writers of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries mention the arrival of Varyaghean-Roussi princes, elected by the Slavonians, but speak of the Roussi as a numerous native people who themselves were Slavonians. 'Among the Scythians were tribes of the Ros or Roos. Greek and Latin writers before the sixth century mention Sarmatian tribes of the Roxalans or Rossalans, from whom the word Russia may be derived' (Ilovaiski, pp. 6-10).

The history of Russia commences from the year 862 of the Christian era, when the Norman-Varyaghean princes were chosen by the Slavonians.

But, before proceeding further, we must now consider the moral and physical peculiarities of the Slavonians.

CHAPTER IV

MORAL AND PHYSICAL PECULIARITIES OF THE SLAVONIANS

ILOVAISKI (p. 5) states that among the most remarkable foreign writers who give details of the Slavonians are the Gothic historian Iornand and Prokopius of Byzantium. They both lived during the sixth century. These authors particularly designate Eastern or Russian Slavonians as Anti.

The Slavonians were tall of stature, and remarkably handsome. Their hair was of a light reddish hue, their complexion ruddy, their eyes grey. They were accustomed from early youth to support cold, heat, or want of food. They were, moreover, strong, brave, formidable to the enemy, sudden and impetuous in attacking. They fought on foot, and sometimes were nearly naked. They did not like to fight in friendly multitudes, but apart. The arms of the Slavonians consisted of a wooden shield, a short lance, a sword, and arrows frequently rubbed with poison.

The character of the Slavonians presents a mixture of good and evil qualities. On the one hand they were brave, good-hearted, hospitable—it was even allowable among them to rob a neighbour in order to entertain a traveller,—while on the other they were slovenly and prone to quarrel with each other. 'The old Slavonian vice of civil discord,' according to the late Professor Pogodine.

The Slavonians, although cruel in war, were, notwithstanding, merciful to their prisoners, employed them to work for some time, and then set them free.

Compassion to the old and feeble, sincerity, conjugal fidelity, were also accounted good traits of the Slavonian character. The Slavonians likewise strictly enjoined the performance of a promise. 'Let me be put to shame if I do not keep my word!' was their expression instead of an oath, or of a written obligation as used at the present day. Slavonian women occupied the same subordinate position as with other uncivilised nations. A bride was usually carried off, and then her parents received payment for her. Polygamy also existed amongst the Slavonians; and, after a husband's death, one of his wives was obliged to follow him to the tomb. In some places the dead were burned on a funeral pile, their ashes were then put into an urn and placed on a pillar at a spot where several roads met. After a funeral a so-called 'Trizna' or feast took place, accompanied with warlike games. In general, interments were celebrated with sacred rites.

In order to ensure personal safety, there existed with the Slavonians the custom of sanguinary vengeance, according to a peculiarity of uncivilised nations. In other words, the relatives of a murdered man were obliged to seek revenge by the death of the murderer.

However, not all the Slavonians were alike. Nestor states that the Poliani, or southern races, were peaceable and good-natured; while the Severiani, the Drevliani, the Radimitchi, and the Viaticchi were ill-tempered, and robbed the property of others. This diversity of character among the Slavonians may, perhaps, have arisen from the varied circumstances in which the numerous tribes were placed.

The Slavonians of Novgorod and Kiev were, in general, much more civilised than the others, and even during the ninth century carried on commerce with neighbouring nations; but agriculture was then little diffused among the Slavonians.

CHAPTER V

OCCUPATIONS AND AMUSEMENTS OF THE SLAVONIANS

HUNTING formed the chief means of subsistence among the Slavonians. Rivers and lakes abounded with fish, while in the woods were wild animals which were indiscriminately used as food. In general, the Slavonian mode of life was extremely simple. The principal occupations of the people were the breeding of cattle and tilling the ground. But the abundance of natural products in their country urged them to carry on trade. Foreign merchants visited the Slavonians, and from them received cattle, hemp, skins of animals, corn, honey, wax, etc., in

exchange for other articles of commerce. The Slavonian towns Vinetta, at the mouth of the Oder, and Arcona, in the island of Rugen, were famed for their trade.

The chief amusement of the Slavonians was music, which delighted them in spite of their uncivilised condition. We should hardly have expected to find troubadours among the Venedians of the Baltic. Yet so it was. In fact, they told the Emperor of Byzantium that music was their favourite amusement, and that while travelling, instead of arms, they only carried a lute or harp made by themselves. The cithera or dulcimer, the bagpipe, the rebec, the reed or cornpipe, were the musical instruments of the Slavonians. In time of peace, nay, even in sight of the enemy, they feasted, sang, made merry, and forgot all cares, difficulties, or dangers. The Slavonians also liked to dance and sing. Among their favourite amusements were likewise combats, boxing-matches, and running races.

CHAPTER VI

GOVERNMENT OF THE SLAVONIANS—THEIR DEGREE OF CIVILISATION— THEIR RELIGION

At first the government of the Slavonians was patriarchal, representing monarchy. Each father of a family was as a sovereign, possessing full power over his children, his domestics, and the land belonging to him. Families were independent of each other, and only in rare cases of doubtful or perplexing nature was a general consultation held. But with time, necessity and the progress of reason induced the Slavonians to submit to one commanding power. They conferred supreme sway on chosen individuals who bore the title of Korol (a king, in Russ). Some suppose the word to signify a punisher of crime, from Kara, punishment. Other titles of the Slavonians were Kniaz, a prince—some think, derived from Kon, a steed. Pan, in Polish, still means a nobleman; Joupan, governor of a district, from Joupa, a burgh.

From frequent intercourse with the Greeks, the Slavonians acquired a certain degree of civilisation. They even made rude representations of their deities. They likewise knew some astronomical facts; for they divided the year into twelve months, and gave to each a suitable name, according to the season and the acts of nature. The Venedians, occupying the southern shores of the Baltic Sea, knew the use of letters, which, however, existed in the runes, and resembled Egyptian hieroglyphs. The Russian Slavonians did not know the art of writing

till the ninth century, when the philosopher Constantine, canonised as Saint Cyril, and his brother Methodius, invented a special Slavonian alphabet, formed from the Greek with the addition of some letters. That alphabet, named the Cyrilian, is, with certain alterations, still used in Russia.

RELIGION OF THE SLAVONIANS

The religion of the Slavonians consisted in idolatry. They had numerous deities, and adored them in form of idols. Nearly every Slavonian tribe had its own divinities. The Russian Slavonians specially worshipped Peroŭn, the god of thunder and lightning; Volos, protector of flocks; Koupāl, god of fruits of the earth; Koleād, god of peace and solemnities; Domovai, house spirits; Leschies, satyrs, were-wolves. The Slavonians of Rugen adored Sviatovia, represented with four faces, to indicate the seasons of the year. His idol-temple was in Arcona, in the isle of Rugen. The White God, Bielié Bogh, principle of good; the Black God, Tschorni Bogh, principle of evil.

To these gods the Slavonians made offerings of fruits, animals, part of the booty taken in war; and sometimes also human beings were sacrificed. Besides these gods, many rivers, lakes, islands, sources, forests, and even military standards, were objects of adoration to the Slavonians. Their chief priests were styled magicians (Bolhvia).

CHAPTER VII

LANGUAGE OF THE SLAVONIANS

WE can only form ideas of the language of the Slavonians from the Bible and other books of the Church. Perhaps all the Slavonians originally spoke one language, which, however, underwent changes in different regions, and thus formed various Slavonian dialects. As for the origin of the Slavonian language, some consider it one of the mother languages of Asia; others maintain that Slavonian has a resemblance to Greek and Latin; while not a few are of opinion that Slavonian may be considered as a primordial language, as rich and original as any in the world.

We have already mentioned the Cyrilian alphabet, invented by Saint Cyril in 865. The Christians of Moravia, when they embraced the faith of Rome, adopted Latin letters, as did also the Poles. Karamzine divides the Slavonian language into the following dialects:—

1st. Russ, properly so called, the purest, the richest, and best. Spoken in Great or Central Russia (including Moscow and adjacent governments).

2nd. Polish, *i.e.* Slavonian, with a mixture of Latin and German, not only spoken in Poland, but also in some provinces of Prussia, in Selisia, and beyond the Oder.

3rd. Tscheque or Bohemian, most like the Slavonian of the Bible. Bohemian is spoken not only in Bohemia, but also in Moravia.

4th. The Illyrian or Bulgarian, the coarsest and rudest of all.

5th. Croatian, spoken in Styria, in Carinthia, and Carniola.

'The Dalmatians have another alphabet called the Glagolian, incorrectly attributed to Saint Jerome, and evidently copied from the Cyrilian. During the ninth century the bishops of Salonica declared Methodius a heretic, and condemned the Slavonian alphabet as the invention of the Arian Goths. This probably induced some Dalmatian monks to invent a new alphabet, which they put under the pretended protection of Saint Jerome' (Karamzine).

CHAPTER VIII

DIFFERENT PERIODS OF THE HISTORY OF RUSSIA

THE history of Russia is naturally divided into different periods:—

PERIOD I.—From the foundation of the Russian Monarchy at Novgorod, by Rurik in 862, till the death of Yaroslav the Great in 1054. 862-1054.

PERIOD II.—From 1054 till 1237-38, when the Appanage system was fully established. In 1238 the Tartar yoke commenced.

PERIOD III.—The Tartar yoke, 1238-1480, when it was cast off by John the Great.

PERIOD IV.—From 1480 till the reign of Peter the Great, 1682-1725. 1480-1725.

PERIOD V.—Finally the Russian Empire under Peter the Great and his successors till our own times.

PERIOD I

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE RUSSIAN MONARCHY AT
NOVGOROD BY RURIK, 862, TILL THE DEATH OF YAROSLAV
THE GREAT IN 1054. 862-1054.

CHAPTER I

FOUNDATION OF THE RUSSIAN MONARCHY BY RURIK AT NOVGOROD, 862—
REIGN OF RURIK, 862-879

WE have already mentioned that when the northern Slavonians of Russia (occupying the present governments of Novgorod and Pskov) had repulsed the invasion of the Normans, and thrown off their yoke, terrible civil discord broke out. These Slavonians, in fact, could not govern themselves. The various tribes at length assembled and made the following resolution: 'Let us seek for a prince who will reign over us!' So it was finally decided to send ambassadors beyond the seas to the Varyaghean-Roussi, and thus to address them: 'Our country is vast and fertile; but it is in disorder. Come therefore and reign over us!'

This took place in 862. Three brothers, Varyaghean-Roussi princes, accepted the proposal. They were named Rurik, Sineous, and Trouvor. They came accompanied by many relatives and numerous followers. Rurik, after being at Ladoga, finally established himself at Novgorod. Sineous was among the Finnish races of the Ves at Bielo-ozero (present government of Novgorod), Trouvor was among the Krivitchi at Izborsk (present government of Pskov), Rurik was among the Slavonians living along the Lake Ilmen.

But, two years after their arrival, Sineous and Trouvor both died; so that Rurik eventually reigned alone. He took the possessions of his brothers; and the country over which he ruled was called Russia.

'It has been insinuated,' says Chopin, in his *Histoire de Russie*, 'that the Slavonians soon regretted their liberty, and that one of them, Vadeem the Brave, fell at Novgorod by the blows of Rurik.'

ASCOLD AND DEER

Rurik ruled by the feudal system, and distributed lands and towns among his followers, to be administered by them. Two of these followers were called Ascold and Deer. Urged by the desire for booty, they marched southwards to Kiev. It then paid tribute to the Kozars. Ascold and Deer took the city and established themselves there. They next undertook an expedition against the Greek Empire, and set sail in two hundred vessels on the Black Sea. But a storm shattered their vessels, so that they were obliged to return to Kiev again.

Foundation of the Russian Monarchy at Novgorod by Rurik, 862.

Reign of Rurik, 862-879.

Save the above-mentioned details, we know nothing more of Rurik. 'Did he make war on neighbouring nations, or was he measuring land with "the Norman rope," so long afterwards remembered in popular tradition?' says Professor Pogodine. 'Annals are silent on the subject. They merely mention Rurik's death, which took place in 879.' Rurik left a son named Igor (pronounce Ee-gor), yet a minor, under the guardianship of a relative, Oleg. Some authors call Oleg the brother of Rurik's consort Effanda, Princess of Oorman.

Death of Rurik.

CHAPTER II

REIGN OF OLEG, 879-912

Oleg is a favourite hero of popular Russian tradition. By it he has been considered as a 'soothsayer' (Breugiu-Vaishii), i.e. wise and crafty.

Reign of Oleg, 879-912.

Not content with the ordinary tribute of other Slavonian tribes, he extended his possessions. He conquered Smolensk, chief town of the Krivitchi tribe, and subdued the Severiani. Besides, the growing power of Ascold and Deer urged him to march southwards to Kiev. He did not overcome its inhabitants by war, but had recourse to a base stratagem characteristic of the epoch. He pretended to be a merchant, and feigned illness. He then invited Ascold and Deer to visit him. While they did so, he ordered them to be put to death. The inhabitants of Kiev, terrified by this act of violence, submitted to Oleg. He thereupon chose that city as his residence, and, standing on the banks of the Dnieper, is said to have exclaimed, 'Let Kiev be the mother of Russian towns!'

Professor Pogodine, in his *Ancient Russian History till the Mongol Yoke*, p. 14, states that it may be disputes between the headstrong Novgorodians and Oleg urged the latter to go southwards to Kiev.

After subduing the Drevliens and a considerable tract of country between Kiev and Novgorod, Oleg next turned his attention towards the south. He there

overcame the inhabitants of the regions now known as the governments of Volhynia, Podolia, and Herson. At this epoch an invasion of the Oogrii (Hungarians) took place in Southern Russia. They had hitherto roved about in a region still named Oogoria, at the sources of the Petchora and the Obi, moved along by the banks of the river Ural, and thence to the Don. Finally, numerous hordes of Oogrii passed by Kiév, and marched onwards to the Dniester and beyond the Carpathian Mountains. Eventually, many Oogrii settled on the banks of the Danube and the Teiss, where they founded the kingdom of Hungary.

Meanwhile Rurik's son Igor attained his majority; but Oleg did not give up the throne, and still continued to reign as sovereign. Notwithstanding, good understanding continued between the uncle and nephew. In 903 Oleg chose a consort for Igor in the person of Olga, subsequently so famous in Russian annals. She is thought to have been of Varyaghean-Norman origin, and was a native of Pskov.

But, not content with conquests in Russia, Oleg desired to extend his sphere of action, and sailed southwards. His troops embarked in two thousand vessels, in each of which were forty men. The Greek Emperor, Leo VI., the Philosopher, was obliged to pay a large ransom to Oleg, and to conclude with him a peace favourable to the Russians. Tradition affirms that Oleg hung up his shield at the gates of Constantinople. The chief aim of war at that epoch was booty. When Oleg had obtained it, he returned once more to Kiev, to his admiring subjects, who extolled his wisdom.

In 911 Oleg concluded a written treaty with the Greek Emperor. Fortunately, that interesting document has been preserved as a specimen of ancient diplomacy.

The chief conditions of the said treaty were the confirmation of peace between Greece and Russia, the decision of mutual advantage in trade, the punishment of crime, and the preservation of property, honour, safety; the promise of reciprocal aid, etc. etc.

Oleg's last days were spent in quietness and in endeavours to promote the good of Russia. According to popular tradition, he died from the bite of a serpent. This had long previously been predicted by a sorcerer, who affirmed likewise that Oleg's death would be caused by his favourite steed. Terrified by the prediction, Oleg ceased to mount this particular horse again, but he ordered it to be fed and tended as usual.

Meanwhile a lengthened period passed. Oleg on one occasion asked what had become of his former favourite. He then learned that it was dead. 'The soothsayer who predicted that my horse would occasion my death was a liar, like all sorcerers; for my horse is dead, and I am still alive!' exclaimed Oleg.

'However,' added he, 'I shall go and look at its skeleton.' And so he did. But while examining the bones, and while turning over the horse's skull with his foot, a serpent crept out, stung the prince, and thus occasioned his death.

Oleg was mourned by the people. 'He seems to have left no direct heir,' says Professor Pogodine (p. 25); 'otherwise, had Oleg had a son as energetic and ambitious as himself, Igor might perhaps not have reigned.'

If Oleg was married, historians do not mention who his consort was.

CHAPTER III

REIGN OF IGOR, SON OF RURIK, 912-945

So Igor ascended the throne. At this epoch the Drevliens revolted and endeavoured to restore their independence. Meanwhile, new enemies to Russia appeared in form of the Petchenègues. These wandering hordes issued from Asia. They bore a common origin to the Turkoman races, and were remarkable for fierceness and a love of plunder. But Igor subdued the Drevliens, and forced the Petchenègues to retire to the Pruth and the Danube. At the same period the Oogri withdrew from the Steppes of Southern Russia towards the west, whence they were driven by the Petchenègues, who had been roving in the regions of the Ural Mountains. 'Armed with a spear and arrows,' says Ilovaiski (p. 121), 'the Petchenègue horsemen bore down upon the enemy, uttering fierce yells; but, in case of failure, immediately turned back and fled on fleet steeds, incapable of being pursued. Not only did Southern Russia suffer from these lawless invaders, but Kiev also was in danger. They likewise rendered trade with Greece much more difficult, as hordes of them awaited merchant-vessels at the rapids of the Dnieper.'

Reign of Igor,
son of Rurik,
912-945.

Urged by a desire for booty, Igor undertook an expedition against Byzantium. His vessels accordingly appeared on the Black Sea and devastated its shores. But the so-called 'Greek fire' (*i.e.* firearms) burned many of his vessels. Vast numbers of Russians perished in the sea or from the enemy's sword, so that only a few of them returned with their prince to Kiev.

However, this misfortune did not discourage Igor. He again appeared on the Black Sea. The Greek Emperor, Roman no longer, trusted to his arms, but proposed peace. Igor, however, burned for revenge. He at first did not wish to hear of peace, though he eventually agreed to conclude it, because instigated to do so by his companions in arms. At last he and his warriors, after accepting

gifts from the Emperor, withdrew to Kiev. During the following year Igor's ambassadors concluded a new treaty between the Empire and Russia. That treaty, however, was less advantageous for the Russians than other stipulations had been, *i.e.* Russian ambassadors and merchants were liable to certain restrictions at Constantinople.

'The Greek Emperor,' says Ilovaiski (p. 12), 'confirmed this treaty by sending his ambassador to Kiev in order to make Igor and his warriors take an oath. At that period the armies of Kiev included both idolaters and Christians. The former, accompanied by Igor, went to a valley, where stood a representation of their chief god Peroun. After laying on the ground their shields, gold rings, drawn swords, and other arms, the Russian warriors, in presence of the Greek Ambassador, pronounced the following oath:—

"May we never obtain aid from Peroun, and may our shields no longer defend us, if we think of violating peace with the Greeks! May we then be cut in pieces by our own swords! May we be pierced by our own arrows, or by some other arms; and may we become slaves in this world and in the world to come!"'

Meanwhile, the Christianised Russians merely swore by the true God in the Cathedral of Saint Elias. 'Friendship and love for the Greeks,' according to the words of the treaty, 'were to continue while the sun shone and while the world lasted!'

The dependence of tribes subdued by Russian arms at this early epoch consisted in the payment of an annual tribute. In order to collect the tribute, princes sometimes went themselves, or they sent their voevodes with troops.

In 945 Igor had a violent death. A neighbouring tribe, the Drevliens, killed him because he wished to extort extra tribute from them. The sad event happened in this wise. At the close of his life Igor no longer went himself to collect tribute, but sent one of his voevodes named Sveneld to do so. This, however, was not profitable for Igor's troops, who soon began to complain. 'We are naked!' exclaimed they, 'while Sveneld's followers are rich in arms and clothing. Let us go, Prince, with thee, for tribute, in order that thou mayst obtain it and we also!'

So Igor followed this advice and went to the Drevliens—the least submissive tribe. Nay, more, he unjustly demanded extra tribute, while both he and his troops committed violence. After collecting tribute, and when on his way back to Kiev, he resolved to return once more to the Drevliens in order to extort extra tribute from them. He disbanded his followers, while saying to them, 'Go home with what we have received, and I will go on still further.' The Drevliens, on hearing that Igor was coming to them again, consulted with their prince, Mal,

and decided on resistance. 'If a wolf comes often to the fold, he will carry away all if he is not killed!' said they. 'Such is Igor! He will ruin us if he is not put to death!'

Meanwhile, they sent him a message to this effect: 'We have paid thee all. Why comest thou again?' But Igor heeded not the remonstrance. The Drevliens accordingly sallied forth. They soon killed Igor's few followers and took him prisoner. They next tied him alive to two trees, attached at the top, but rent suddenly asunder. Thus the poor Russian prince's body was torn in pieces.

CHAPTER IV

REGENCY OF OLGA (HELENA WHEN A CHRISTIAN), 945—REIGN OF HER

SON SVIATOSLAV IGOROVITCH, 945-972

As Igor's son Sviatoslav was still a minor, his mother Olga was Regent till his majority.

This spirited princess took terrible vengeance on her husband's murderers. She subdued the insubordinate tribe of the Drevliens and burned their chief town, Korosten. Then, like her predecessors, she went about with troops to visit conquered tribes, pronounced judgment on them, and in a more definite manner determined the amount of tribute they should pay. But, in general, all the acts of Olga are mingled with many fabulous traditions, by which she is represented as a woman of unusually crafty and decided disposition.

For example, the following details are given in annals concerning Olga's sanguinary revenge on the Drevliens—the murderers of her husband Igor.

The Drevliens were terrified at what they had done. They dreaded the consequences of Igor's violent death. But, in order to avert the vengeance of Olga, they sent ambassadors to her, begging that she would marry Mal, prince of the tribe. 'Then we shall do what we like with Sviatoslav!' said they. The first ambassadors Olga ordered to be thrown into a ditch, along with the boats in which they had sailed. By her commands other ambassadors were burned to death in a Russian steam-bath. Third ambassadors Olga caused to be slaughtered on her husband's tomb, at the very time when, along with them, she was celebrating a 'Trizna,' or feast in honour of the dead. She then set fire to Korosten by means of sparrows and pigeons, which she collected from each house instead of tribute. Olga ordered inflammable matter to be tied to each bird's tail, and then let it fly towards the town.

Regency of
Olga, 945.
Reign of her
son Sviatoslav
Igorovitch,
945-972.

957—Olga
embraces
Christianity
at Constantin-
ople.

Subsequently (957) Olga became yet more famous because she embraced the Christian religion. This important event took place at Constantinople, whither she had wended her steps. She was there baptized by the name of Helena; and the Greek Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus was her godfather. The latter prince has written a description of Olga's visit to his capital, but he does not mention her baptism. 'We may accordingly presume,' says Ilovaiski (p. 13), 'that after being baptized she went to Constantinople, in order to pray at sacred spots there and to receive the patriarch's blessing.'

To all Olga's urgent entreaties that her son Sviatoslav would embrace Christianity, he returned an obstinate refusal. On assuming the reins of government he gave full scope to his love of war and conquest. Annalists thus describe his character and habits: 'Sviatoslav Igorovitch rushed upon the enemy with the swiftness of a panther. During a campaign he took no luggage, no pots in which to boil meat. He merely cut horseflesh, or that of other animals, into small pieces and cooked them on hot coals. Thus he dined. He slept without a tent. He had only a saddle-cloth under him, and made a pillow of a saddle. Such were his habits during all his military expeditions. When he marched against an enemy he previously sent to say to him, "I am coming to make war on you!"'

East from the Dnieper there remained only one Slavonian tribe which did not yet pay tribute to the Prince of Russia. That tribe was composed of the Viaitichi, who paid tribute to the Kozars. But Sviatoslav subdued the Kozars, took their chief town, Belaia Veja on the Don, and likewise overcame the Viaitichi. Then, by invitation of the Greek Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, Sviatoslav turned his arms against the Bulgarians of the Danube, and conquered their country (967).

Meanwhile, the Petchenègues attacked Sviatoslav's capital, Kiev, and would have taken it, but for one brave youth able to speak to the Petchenègues in their own language. He it was who saved Kiev. He held communication with some Russian forces on the opposite side of the Dnieper, who did not know how to cross the river. The city meanwhile became exhausted, and had decided to surrender if help did not come next day. The Russian youth passed through the Petchenègue camp, while pretending to seek for a horse which he had lost. When the Petchenègues saw their mistake, they fired at the youth, but their arrows did not reach him. On learning all this, Sviatoslav returned to his own country. But he did not long remain there, and after Olga's death he once more went to Bulgaria.

We must not omit to mention that the Russo-Greek Church has canonised Olga. Her name's-day is celebrated on July 11th.

Bulgaria so delighted Sviatoslav that he wished to remove his residence to the banks of the Danube and to the town of Periaslavetz. 'There,' he was wont to say to his mother, 'is everything good. From Greece, gold, silk stuffs, wine, and different fruits; from Bohemia and Hungary, silver and horses; from Russia, fur, wax, honey, and slaves.'

But the second conquest of Bulgaria led to war with Greece. The throne of Byzantium was no longer occupied by Nicephorus Phocas, but by his murderer, John Zimischius (*i.e.* short of stature), a famous warrior and an experienced commander. He ordered the Russian prince to quit Bulgaria, and, on receiving a refusal, himself marched against Sviatoslav. The latter, after an obstinate defence, was obliged to yield and to conclude peace.

Having lost a battle on the open field, Sviatoslav shut himself up in the fort of Dorostol (Silistria), and there was besieged by Zimischius.

During this interval the Greek fleet stopped all issue at the side of the Danube. The Russians several times began a struggle with the Greeks, and astonished all by their bravery. The former sometimes yielded to superior strength, but retreated slowly, placing their long shields on their shoulders. At night the Russians frequently went beyond the town, and buried the bodies of their fallen companions in arms, killed prisoners beside them, and, with sacred rites, plunged children and cocks into the waters of the Danube. Byzantine authors give interesting details of this war. Among the Russian forces the second place, after Sviatoslav himself, was occupied by a certain Ikmor, a knight remarkable for his strength and height. During one encounter the most famous of Zimischius's bodyguards, named Anem, bore down upon Ikmor, and with one blow of a sword cut off his head and right hand. Ikmor's death threw the Russians into confusion, and they retreated. Next day, Sviatoslav assembled his warriors, and consulted with them what was to be done. Some said it would be better to profit by a dark night to pass by the Greek vessels, and take flight to Russia. Others advised peace to be made. But Sviatoslav reminded his forces of their former glory, and added that they should either conquer or die with honour. His words encouraged the Russians. They once more attacked the Greeks. Anem then thought to destroy Sviatoslav as well as Ikmor. But although the Russian prince was thrown on the ground by his adversary, the latter could not pierce through Sviatoslav's thick coat of mail. Then Anem was surrounded by Russians and put to death. The action, however, again ended by the retreat of the Russians, and they finally concluded peace with the Greeks. Thereupon Sviatoslav desired a personal interview with Zimischius, which was granted. It has thus been described by a Byzantine author, Leo Diakon :—

‘John Zimischius, in brilliant armour and on horseback, rode to the banks of the Danube. He was surrounded by many horsemen, whose arms were covered with gold. Meanwhile, Sviatoslav approached in a boat, which he rowed along with other rowers. He was of middle height, and remarkably well made. He had a wide chest, a flat nose, blue eyes, and long, shaggy moustaches. The hair of his head was shaved, with the exception of one lock—the sign of noble birth. In one ear he wore a gold ring, set with a ruby and two pearls. The whole appearance of the Prince was stern and morose. His white clothes, by excessive cleanliness alone, were distinguishable from those of the other Russians. Without leaving the boat, Sviatoslav conversed a little with the Emperor, and then rowed backwards.’

Sviatoslav next wended his steps towards Russia. But his old enemies, the Petchenègues, were waiting for him at the rapids of the Dnieper. So Sviatoslav finally resolved to winter there. When spring returned, he moved towards Russia. In spite of his few and enfeebled forces, he seems to have fought with the Petchenègues, and was killed by them. Kooria, the Petchenègue Prince, took Sviatoslav’s skull and made a drinking-cup of it, in memory of a brave enemy.

Sviatoslav’s old vovode, Sveneld, accompanied by a small number of followers, returned to Kiev, and brought the sad news of the Prince’s death, as well as the ruin of his army and the loss of conquered Bulgaria.

Historians mention two wives of Sviatoslav Igorovitch. The first was Preslava, a princess of Bulgaria; the second was Maloosha, a woman of Olga’s suite.

Sviatoslav introduced the baneful system of appanages, by dividing his possessions among his sons. To Yaropolk, the eldest, he gave Kiev; to Oleg, the country of the Drevliens; to Vladimir, Novgorod.

Sviatoslav Igorovitch was the very bravest of all brave Russian princes. He never knew fear, despised danger, and was the terror of all surrounding people.

CHAPTER V

REIGN OF YAROPOLK SVIATOSLAVITCH, 972-980

THE baneful system of dividing the kingdom into appanages soon became felt in Russia; for civil war speedily broke out among the sons of Sviatoslav.

Lioto, son of the old vovode Sveneld, had been killed by Oleg, Prince of the Drevliens, because he had surprised Lioto hunting on his domains. Sveneld

accordingly cherished deep hatred towards Oleg, and constantly urged the good-natured but weak Yaropolk to march against his brother and seize his inheritance. Yaropolk, unfortunately, listened to this bad advice; so civil war broke out. Oleg assembled his followers, but during an action was overcome and put to flight. While fleeing he fell into a ditch, and was soon stifled by other fugitives who passed over him. His body was afterwards found, laid on a carpet, and brought to Yaropolk. The latter, on seeing his dead brother, shed bitter tears of remorse, and reproachfully said to Sveneld, 'That is what thou hast desired!' Yaropolk then took Oleg's Principality.

Meanwhile, Vladimir, the youngest son, dreading Yaropolk's ambition, fled to the Varyagheans (Normans). Yaropolk's voevodes then took possession of Novgorod. But Vladimir was not inactive during this interval; he participated in the perilous expeditions of the Normans and urged many of them to join his cause. Two years afterwards Vladimir, accompanied by Normans, marched against Novgorod. 'Go and tell my brother,' said he to the citizens of that town, 'that I am coming to make war with him, and that he must prepare to fight with me.'

At that epoch the town of Polotzk (present government of Vitebsk) was governed by a Norman named Rogvold. Rogvold had a beautiful daughter, Rognieda, affianced to Yaropolk. Dobrinia, Vladimir's uncle, asked Rognieda's hand for his nephew; but the proud Norman disdainfully replied: 'I shall never marry the son of a slave! I wish Yaropolk!' Rognieda made allusion to the base extraction of Vladimir's mother, Maloosha. Irritated by this insulting refusal, Dobrinia and Vladimir stormed Polotzk, took the town, put Rogvold, his wife, and sons to death, carried off Rognieda, and obliged her to become Vladimir's wife at the very time when she was about to be given in marriage to Yaropolk. In Russian history and tradition Rognieda is always surnamed 'Goréslava'—*i.e.* famed for grief (*goré*, grief; *slava*, glory, fame).

Vladimir next advanced against Kiev. He meanwhile held secret communication with Bloud, a voevode, in Yaropolk's confidence. Bloud was a traitor. He persuaded Yaropolk to believe that the inhabitants of Kiev were against him, and that he should retire to the town of Rodna. Bloud next affirmed that Yaropolk should offer no further resistance, and throw himself on the mercy of Vladimir. The too credulous Yaropolk followed this advice. He then hastened to Kiev. Vladimir with troops awaited Yaropolk's arrival. When he entered an apartment of Vladimir's dwelling, Bloud shut the door, and would not allow Yaropolk's followers to pass. Then two Varyagheans (Normans) threw themselves upon him, pierced him under the arm, and thus he was put to death.

Yaropolk had a faithful servant named Variajko, who vainly attempted to

dissuade his master from following Bloud's advice—*i.e.* to join Vladimir and to be content with what he chose to give.

'Do not go, Prince!' said Variajko to Yaropolk; 'they will kill thee!' But Yaropolk heeded not this caution. When he was treacherously murdered, Variajko fled to the Petchenègues, and for long afterwards made war on Vladimir, to avenge the death of Yaropolk.

Yaropolk's consort was Predslava, subsequently one of Vladimir's wives. Yaropolk left a son, Sviatopolk, surnamed 'The Accursed.' He was the Russian 'Macbeth,' as we shall afterwards see. 'Predslava was a Greek, remarkable for her extreme beauty. She was brought to Russia by Yaropolk's father Sviatoslav,' says Professor Pogodine (p. 74).

CHAPTER VI

REIGN OF VLADIMIR SVIATOSLAVITCH—CANONISED BY THE RUSSO-GREEK CHURCH
AS SAINT VLADIMIR—SURNAMED 'THE GREAT—OF EQUAL RANK WITH THE
APOSTLES,' 980-1015

VLADIMIR thus became sole ruler of all Russia. His reign is a very remarkable one. Under his sceptre not only were the boundaries of the Empire enlarged, but its glory increased. Above all, this prince was destined to introduce the light of Christianity into Russia, and to dispel the darkness of heathen night.

Reign of Saint
Vladimir,
980-1015.

The life of Vladimir presents two directly opposite periods. At first we see him a turbulent drunkard, a daring pirate, a lawless murderer, a slave of sensuality, a fratricide. Such was the heathen Vladimir. Then we behold him a Christian, a new man. All old things have passed away. He is zealous for the diffusion of truth, a friend of the poor, a father of his subjects. Vladimir was, besides, an experienced politician for his times, and he was a brave warrior too. He added glory to the Russian arms, and became famous by his warlike expeditions. He conquered Galicia; subdued the rebellious tribe of the Radimitchi; forced the Bulgarians of the Kama to respect Russia; extended its boundaries from the Boog to the Baltic Sea.

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

Introduction
of Christian-
ity, 988.

But at length a very important epoch drew nigh—an epoch so ardently desired by Vladimir's grandmother Olga, but which she was not destined to see. We allude to the introduction of Christianity. The gradually increasing greatness

of Russia had already attracted the attention of many other nations. All longed to be united to it by the bonds of religious belief. For this reason, ambassadors from Greece, from Western countries, from Mohammedans, even from Jews, appeared at Kiev. Each proposed his belief to Vladimir. But that wise prince decided on due deliberation before determining so important an affair. He therefore sent his own ambassadors to different countries, in order to investigate the religion of foreign nations. 'For each praises his own religious belief,' added Vladimir. His ambassadors were eventually captivated by the Greek religion, and persuaded their Prince to adopt it. They had witnessed the magnificent services offered up in the famous cathedral (now a Turkish mosque) of Saint Sophia at Constantinople. The wise, far-seeing Vladimir was besides persuaded that by forming close alliance with cultivated Greece, he would at the same time contribute to the civilisation of his people.

At the commencement of his reign, Vladimir had been remarkable for his extreme cruelty, his inclination to have many wives, and especially his zeal for idolatry. He ordered statues of idols to be erected, and sanguinary sacrifices to be offered up to them. In Kiev there was a wooden representation of Peroūn, the Slavonian god of thunder and lightning, with a silver head and gold moustaches. A similar statue was likewise erected at Novgorod, on the banks of the Volhov. At Rostov there stood an idol of Volos, the god of cattle. In order to please the Prince, the people were wont to make sacrifices to the idol, in form of their children, chosen by lot. Annals narrate that once at Kiev, after a successful expedition of Vladimir against the Iatvagi, the lot for sacrifice fell on a Christian boy of the Varyagheans (Normans). But the father was unwilling to deliver up his son to the authorities of Kiev; so both he and his child were killed by the exasperated crowd of idolaters. These first and last martyrs at Kiev were named Feōdor and Ioānn (John). Both have been canonised by the Russo-Greek Church.

But gradually the religion of heathens could no longer cope with Christianity. Even during the ninth century (after the first attack of the Russians on Constantinople) Christianity had penetrated to Russia. During Igor's reign (912-945) we already remark the Cathedral of Saint Elias at Kiev. During Olga's regency the number of Christians was still greater. Finally, Vladimir himself openly embraced the new faith.

At this epoch war broke out between Greece and Russia; and Vladimir, at the head of his troops, marched against the former country. The exact object of this expedition is unknown, and has given rise to many suppositions. Some affirm that Vladimir was instigated by heathen pride which did not admit of him

simply asking baptism of the Greeks; others maintain that the Russian prince desired to become acquainted with the religion of Christ in the capital of the Greek Emperors, and especially to form a matrimonial alliance with their family. But the object of this expedition was evidently more political than otherwise. The Greek Emperors Basil II. and Constantine VIII., terrified by the rebel, Vardi Phocas, begged Vladimir's aid to subdue him. Vladimir accordingly marched to the Peninsula of Taurida and besieged the town of Korsoon or Hersonese (near the present Sevastople). The citizens manfully defended themselves; but Vladimir made a vow that if he took the town he would become a Christian. When the city surrendered, Vladimir sent ambassadors to the Greek Emperors to ask the hand of their sister, the Princess Anna; in case of a refusal, he threatened to storm Constantinople. The Princess was accordingly sent. Greek priests were also in her suite, and they baptized Vladimir, his sons, and militia (988).

Tradition reports that Vladimir then suffered from a disease of the eyes, but that he was cured during the act of baptism. This memorable event caused many other Russians to believe in Christianity.

At Kiev, Vladimir ordered heathen temples and idols to be destroyed. By the Prince's orders the statue of Peroūn was tied to a horse's tail, beat with blows of sticks, and then tossed into the Dnieper. The people shed tears on witnessing this desecration. Priests were then sent from town to town to preach the new faith; but, as many were slow to adopt it, Vladimir resolved on taking decided measures. He ordered the inhabitants of Kiev to assemble on the banks of the Dnieper, and there to receive public baptism. Subsequently, Vladimir sent preachers to other towns, and everywhere built Christian churches. As he, moreover, desired to form a special Russian clergy, he ordered boys to be sent to Greek priests for instruction in book-learning. 'But,' according to annalists, 'the mothers of these children, because not yet themselves confirmed in the Christian faith, *wept over their sons as dead.*'

Along with Christianity in Russia were also introduced books for sacred service in the Slavonian tongue. Christianity was at first propagated in the direction of the great river course from Kiev to Novgorod, and generally in large towns. But the new belief was especially opposed in the North among the Finns. At Novgorod the idolaters raised a revolt, which was only quelled by force of arms. At last, however, the inhabitants of that city, like those of Kiev, assembled at the river Volhov, and were there baptized in masses. The statue of Peroūn, with the same degradation as at Kiev, was thrown into the Volhov.

The Posādnik (or chief magistrate) of Novgorod was Dobrinia, Vladimir's uncle. The latter and Poōliāta, the Teesiatzki (commander of a thousand), subdued the revolt by setting fire to part of the city. Hence a Novgorodian proverb: 'Dobrinia baptized with the sword, and Poōliāta with fire.'

When Vladimir was baptized, he took the name of Vasili (Basil).

The great Russian historian Karamzine states that many princes of ancient Russia had two names—one given in baptism, the other borne in the world. But the habit of conferring several names on one individual, as in other European countries, is totally unknown in Russia. Each Russian has only one Christian name, that of his patron saint or guardian angel.

After Vladimir's baptism, he married the Greek Princess Anna. He next sent the Emperor's forces to subdue the rebel Phocas, restored the Greeks Herson, and, accompanied by the Metropolitan Michael, returned to Kiev.

When Vladimir became a Christian, he no longer strove to extend the boundaries of Russia, but chiefly endeavoured to protect them from outward attacks, especially those of the Petchenègues. With that intention the Prince built many towns along the current of the Dnieper, and peopled them with inhabitants from northern districts. Not only so; he frequently sallied forth at the head of his militia to repulse the barbarians of the steppes; or he sent troops to subdue the rebellion and robbery of the idolaters, who from towns fled to forests and steppes, and there assembled in numerous gangs.

Annalists describe Vladimir when a Christian as a pious, affable prince.

Among other churches which he founded was that of the Desiatine, Mother of our Lord, at Kiev. He liberally granted the clergy revenues and privileges. Near his dwelling he often made feasts for the poor; he often distributed alms among beggars; and in towns ordered food to be taken to the sick and weak. Vladimir was especially fond of his militia, and did not spare property for it. He was ever wont to consult his militia concerning all his most important affairs. His generosity and his fame attracted round him the best knights of his time. Among those heroes, annalists particularly distinguish Ian Oosmōvitch, Rogetaia, and others. Popular Russian song and tradition, even to the latest epoch, have retained remembrances of Vladimir, 'The Red or Beautiful Sun,' as he is designated in poetic language. The doughty deeds of his brave knights, too, still live in the memory of the people.

The political error of dividing kingdoms into small principalities at that epoch existed in all Europe; Vladimir, like other princes, paid tribute to his age; for he too morselled his possessions among his sons. This policy occasioned great evil. Vladimir's son, Yaroslav, Prince of Novgorod, began to refuse submission

to his father. So Vladimir resolved to take up arms against the rebel; but, overcome with age and illness, died July 15, 1015.

The Russo-Greek Church has canonised Vladimir, and conferred on him the distinction of 'Equal to the Apostles,' from his zeal for Christianity. History has given this prince the surname of 'The Great,' from his important acts of state policy.

He rendered Russian arms glorious, and introduced Christianity in his kingdom. Beloved during his life, he was, at death, mourned by his subjects as a true father is mourned by his children. His remains were committed to the tomb beside those of his consort, the Greek Princess Anna, in the Desiatine Church founded by him.

The Russo-Greek Church celebrates Saint Vladimir's Day on July 15.

Historians mention several consorts of Vladimir. Indeed, during his early life, like Solomon, 'he had loved many strange women.' Among Vladimir's consorts were—Olāva, Princess of Norway; Rognieda, a Norman, surnamed Goreslāva, or 'famed for grief'—Rognieda was Princess of Polotzk; Predslava, a beautiful Greek, previously married to Vladimir's brother Yaropolk. She was mother of Yaropolk's son, Sviatopolk, 'The Accursed.' Other consorts of Vladimir were—Anna, a Greek princess; Milolika, a Bulgarian; Malfrida, etc.

According to Professor Pogodine (p. 73), Iziaslav, Mstislav, Yaroslav, and Vsevolod were sons of Rognieda. She had also two daughters.

Professor Pogodine narrates (p. 74) that on one occasion, when, jealous of her happier rivals, Rognieda endeavoured to kill Vladimir, he was on the point of destroying her, when their son, Iziaslav, then a young boy, rushed forward and saved his mother. Whereupon Vladimir ordered Rognieda to put on her bridal dress and to await his decision of her punishment. He next summoned a council of his nobles, and asked their opinion. Their verdict was, 'Do not kill the mother, for the sake of her children; but give them the special inheritance of her father.' Vladimir did so, and founded there the town of Iziaslav, named for that young prince.

CHAPTER VII

REIGN OF SVIATOPOLK, 'THE ACCURSED,' 1015-1019

VLADIMIR was father of a numerous family; and, as we have already mentioned, he divided his possessions among his sons. The most remarkable among them were Iziaslav (son of Rognieda), Sviatopolk, Yaroslav, etc. Iziaslav had

received the Principality of Polotzk, previously owned by Rognieda's father. Sviatopolk (the adopted son of Vladimir, and son of his elder brother Yaropolk) had become Prince of Toorov, Yaroslav of Novgorod, Boris of Rostov, Mstislav of Tmootarakan (the present island of Tamar or Fanagoria, at the Black Sea, near the river Kuban), Gliéb of Moorom, etc.

But the greatest share of Vladimir's paternal affection was bestowed on Prince Boris of Rostov, a mild and pious youth, 'beautiful in body and in mind,' according to the quaint expression of contemporary annals. Vladimir had sent Boris with forces against the Petchenègues, and himself soon afterwards died at his favourite village of Berestov (1015).

The legal heir to the throne was undoubtedly Yaropolk's son Sviatopolk, adopted by Vladimir as his son; indeed, the people had concealed from him as long as possible the fact of Vladimir's death. The favourite of the nation was Prince Boris. The warriors under his command had even persuaded him to hasten to Kiev and take possession of the vacant throne. But Boris rejected the proposal as unjust, seeing he had elder brothers.

Sviatopolk had thus everything to fear from Boris. The latter had forces along with him; and he was beloved by the people. 'It may also be,' remarks Professor Pogodine (p. 89), 'that a secret love of revenge prompted Sviatopolk to remember the murder of his own father Yaropolk, who had perished by the orders of Vladimir.' Be that as it may, however, Sviatopolk had resolved to make away with Boris; but the latter was already warned of his danger. Meanwhile, not having met the Petchenègues, he had disbanded his troops, and remained with only a few followers. Finally, on hearing that the emissaries of Sviatopolk were at hand, Boris did not offer resistance, which, in fact, was impossible, as he was nearly alone. Not only so; he threw himself on his knees before a crucifix in his tent and prayed for the pardon of his murderer.

The early teaching of a Christianised Bulgarian mother had produced a good effect on the young prince. The assassins of Sviatopolk, like wild animals, rushed into the tent and put Boris to death, along with his favourite follower, a young Hungarian, named George. Professor Pogodine mentions (p. 90) that Boris had himself hung around the young man's neck a golden greeven, a coin used as a decoration, and that the murderers, unable to extricate the coin from George's neck, cut off his head. They then massacred many other followers of Boris also.

Notwithstanding Boris still breathed, half dead, he was rolled up in the coarse sailcloth of the tent. It was placed upon poles, and thus he was transported to Vnishgorod. Sviatopolk, on learning that Boris was still alive, sent two Varyagheans (Normans) to despatch him. One of them then plunged his sword into

the heart of Boris. Annalists record that the young prince's chief murderers were named Pootscha, Taletz, Elovetz, and Liashko.

Professor Pogodine (p. 90) justly remarks concerning Prince Boris Vladimirovitch: 'On hearing that he esteemed his elder brother as a father, and had no wish to dispute his rights, the warlike militia could not understand so mild an answer. They liked power, booty, and fighting. Accordingly, they abandoned the timid in order to join the bold. Thus Boris was left nearly alone with but a few followers.'

We have already mentioned that the mother of this young prince was a Christianised Bulgarian. She had had two sons—Boris and Glieb, Prince of Moorom. The latter might thus avenge the death of his own brother, and accordingly became an object of dread to Sviatopolk.

Meanwhile, Glieb was not thinking of revenge. From the elder son, Boris, Glieb had also imbibed the teaching of a pious mother. On learning that Boris was no more, Glieb mourned over him; and, overwhelmed at the idea of remaining alone in the world, prayed to God for a martyr's death, which indeed was at hand.

Sviatopolk had in the meantime sent for Glieb to visit his father, who had fallen ill. The young prince had apparently not yet heard that Vladimir was dead. Professor Pogodine mentions (p. 91) that on the way from Moorom, near the Volga, Glieb's horse stumbled, so that the young prince fell, broke his leg, and thus was forced to continue the way by water. At the Dnieper, Sviatopolk's emissaries surrounded Glieb's vessel and drew their swords. Glieb's followers were overawed. Goriasère, chief of the murderers, called out to the young prince's followers to put him to death, whereupon his cook drew a knife and stabbed him. The body of Glieb was at first rudely tossed aside on the banks of the river, and placed between two logs of wood, but afterwards was discovered and finally transported to Vnishgorod, beside the remains of Boris.

These two young princely brothers, Boris and Glieb, have been canonised by the Russo-Greek Church.

In Moscow several churches have been dedicated to them. A street also, 'The Borisogliebski,' bears their combined names.

But Sviatopolk's bloodthirsty propensities did not even end here. He sent to kill a third brother, Sviatoslav, Prince of the Drevliens. Sviatoslav, in terror, had fled to the Oogri (Hungarians); but he was overtaken and put to death on the way. The malicious Sviatopolk then continued to reign in Kiev; but his evil deeds were terminated by Yaroslav of Novgorod.

At this particular epoch, Yaroslav was, however, on bad terms with his own subjects, the Novgorodians. The cause of misunderstanding had arisen from

hired Varyaghean (Norman) troops. These strangers had allowed themselves to insult the Novgorodians and their wives. The citizens found no redress from Yaroslav; so they themselves put many Varyagheans to death. Yaroslav, incensed, had in turn ordered the execution of many most distinguished Novgorodians, who had thus taken law into their own hand. During this interval, news came from Yaroslav's sister, Predslava, in Kiev, concerning the murder of three brothers and the ambition of Sviatopolk. Yaroslav accordingly hastened to make peace with the Novgorodians. Along with them and hired Normans, he marched directly to Kiev. Sviatopolk had also hired allies in the Petchenègues. Northern and southern forces met on the banks of the Dnieper, near Liobetch; but neither party was willing to cross the stream. At last, Sviatopolk's chief voevode (surnamed the Wolf's Tail), according to the rude custom of the epoch, began to heap reproaches and mockery on the enemy. 'Oh ho! you Novgorodian carpenters!' shouted he, 'why did you come here with your lame prince? We will make you build us wooden houses!' (The Novgorodians were famous carpenters; and all we know concerning Yaroslav's personal appearance is, that he really *was lame*.)

The Novgorodians were, of course, offended by remarks so insulting. During the night they crossed the river. Yaroslav ordered his soldiers to tie handkerchiefs round their heads in order to distinguish them in the battle. Meanwhile, Sviatopolk was unprepared for an attack. During the whole night he had been drinking with his militia. His Petchenègue allies also did not aid him; so he was completely defeated.

Sviatopolk then found refuge with his father-in-law, Boleslav the Brave, King of Poland. By his aid Sviatopolk once more succeeded in occupying Kiev.

Professor Pogodine narrates (p. 96) how Boleslav carried off Yaroslav's sister Predslava, whom he previously had desired to marry, but who had been refused to him. Polish legends also affirm that Boleslav performed feats of valour with a wonderful sword given to him by an angel. With this sword Boleslav struck the so-called 'Golden Gate' of Kiev; thus a deep mark was left on the sword. Others, however, affirm that the 'Golden Gate' was built at a later epoch, *i.e.* in 1037 by Yaroslav the Great.

From popular tradition we learn that Boleslav, before leaving Kiev, placed iron pillars near the Dnieper, at the spot where it receives its tributary the Soola, and the rushing waters murmured the name of Boleslav.

Sviatopolk eventually quarrelled with his father-in-law; thus Boleslav withdrew to his own country.

Meanwhile, Yaroslav, aided by the Novgorodians and Normans, again attacked

Sviatopolk, and completely defeated him on the banks of the river Alta, where the unhappy Boris had been put to death. Sviatopolk then fled to the deserts of Bohemia, and was heard of no more. The people surnamed him 'The Accursed.'

Professor Pogodine narrates (p. 97) that, when forced to flee, Sviatopolk was so weak that he could not sit on horseback. Thus he was carried on a stretcher. But he was constantly tormented by the idea of being pursued. In vain his attendants assured him that no one was near. 'Further! further! Carry me onwards! See that none follow us!' was the perpetual cry of the miserable man. 'And thus,' continues Nestor, 'Sviatopolk traversed the country of the Poles; and, in some unknown distant region, ended his wicked life!'

Sviatopolk's consort was a daughter of Boleslav the Brave, King of Poland.

CHAPTER VIII

REIGN OF YAROSLAV (VLADIMIROVITCH) THE GREAT, 'THE LAWGIVER,'
1019-1054

AFTER terminating an obstinate struggle with the sanguinary Sviatopolk, Yaroslav took possession of the grand princely throne of Kiev, and there, according to the expression of annalists, 'he wiped away perspiration along with his militia.'

But Yaroslav was not long destined to enjoy the tranquil fruit of his labours. He had a bitter enemy in the person of Briatscheslav, grandson of Vladimir and Rognieda. Briatscheslav reigned in his hereditary possession of Polotzk (present government of Vitebsk). This prince attacked and plundered Novgorod. However, he was finally subdued, less by Yaroslav's force of arms than by his generosity; for he added several towns to Briatscheslav's domains, and in this wise made a friend out of an enemy.

But a foe still more dangerous soon assailed Yaroslav, *i.e.* his brother Mstislav, Prince of Tmootarakan. Mstislav was endowed with great physical strength, of which he was very proud. He soon became the terror of all his neighbours near the Black Sea. Yaroslav desired to take possession of what had belonged to all his murdered brothers; but he found a dangerous rival in Mstislav. On one occasion, while Yaroslav was absent in Souzdal, Mstislav besieged Kiev. But as he met with manful resistance from its inhabitants, he moved towards Tschernigov and took possession of it. Yaroslav then marched against him, and a bloody struggle ensued at Listven. Mstislav gained the victory; so Yaroslav fled to Novgorod.

But Mstislav—vain rather than really ambitious—soon made peace with Yaroslav; and then the Dnieper was fixed upon as a boundary between the possessions of the two brothers. Yaroslav received the western, and Mstislav the eastern regions. So Russia was at peace, and Yaroslav turned his thoughts to interior administration. He subdued Livonia. In the country of the Tschoods he founded Youriev (Dorpat), and restored to Russia the so-called Tschervenski towns (Galicia) conquered by Saint Vladimir, but seized by Boleslav the Brave, King of Poland. On the banks of the Volga, Yaroslav also founded the town of Yaroslavl. It bears the name by which the Grand Prince was known in the world, while Youriev was from Youree (George), his Christian name.

According to popular tradition, the town of Yaroslavl was founded to commemorate a hunt, during which Yaroslav killed an unusually large bear. And, sure enough, a bear still figures in the coat-of-arms of that town.

Concerning Prince Mstislav of Tmootarakan, annalists narrate the following details: 'Mstislav once made war on a neighbouring people called the Kasogs (1022). Their prince was a famous knight named Rededia. He and Mstislav agreed to terminate the quarrel by single combat. The victor was to take the possessions, the wives, and children of the vanquished. The two adversaries accordingly met. Mstislav overcame Rededia and took all he possessed. Some of his children became the ancestors of several noble Russian families still existing. During the combat Mstislav began to give way. But he prayed to the Blessed Virgin, and vowed to her that he would build a church in her name if she aided him to overcome. When he eventually did so, he built at Tmootarakan a church dedicated to the Mother of Our Lord, which was still in existence when the annalist above mentioned wrote.' (See Professor Pogodine, p. 99.)

'Similar duels were frequent at that epoch,' says Ilovaiski (p. 22). 'In like manner,' continues he, 'war between the Russians and Petchenègues was decided by single combat. A Russian youth, Ian Oosmōvitch, fought with a Petchenègue champion, whom he stifled in his embrace and threw dead on the ground.'

After a hunting-party, the brave Mstislav became ill and died. Not long previously he had lost his only son Eustathius. Thus Yaroslav became sovereign of all Russia (1036), except the appanage of Polotzk, which remained to the posterity of Vladimir and Rognieda.

As for the Petchenègues, Yaroslav so completely overcame them that henceforth they nearly ceased their inroads in Russia.

On the spot where the Petchenègues were defeated, Yaroslav, during the following year (1037), founded at Kiev the famous Cathedral of Saint Sophia, like that at Constantinople. Yaroslav also surrounded the city of Kiev with a

stone wall to prevent the inroads of barbarous tribes. The wall had a so-called 'Golden Gate,' whose ruins still remain.

During Yaroslav's reign the last expedition by sea took place to Constantinople. The Greeks did not perform the conditions of a treaty made with Russia. Or, in other words, Russian merchants at Constantinople had been wronged; and one of them, a man of distinction, had been killed. Yet the Greeks gave the Russians no redress. Yaroslav accordingly sent a force against them, commanded by his son Vladimir; but the Russian fleet was wrecked in a storm.

To Yaroslav is due the glory of having been the first Russian lawgiver. His celebrated code is known as the 'Rooskaia Pravda' (Русская Правда), *i.e.* Russian right, truth. History has given this prince the surnames of 'The Wise,' 'The Great,' 'The Lawgiver.' In short, the memory of Yaroslav is alone tarnished by two unworthy acts—disrespect towards his father, which indeed hastened Vladimir's death, and cruelty towards a step-brother, Soodislav. It is supposed that Soodislav reigned at Pskov. He had been calumniated, and Yaroslav felt jealous of him. By Yaroslav's orders the unhappy Soodislav was shut up in a dungeon, where he remained from 1036 till 1054, or during the rest of Yaroslav's reign.

At the remote period of which we now write the sovereigns of Russia had as yet no idea of the empire being one inseparable inheritance. On the contrary, each reigning prince considered the country which he ruled as his own private property, which, along with his other possessions, was to be divided among sons and relations. Yaroslav had six sons, five of whom survived him. They were named Vladimir, Iziaslav, Sviatoslav, Vsevolod, Viatcheslav, and Igor.

According to annalists, Yaroslav divided his possessions as follows:—

'Kiev and Novgorod I confide to my eldest son Iziaslav, whom you are to esteem as myself, for he will be to you instead of a father.' (Novgorod had previously been given to Prince Vladimir. It was he who died during his father's lifetime. In 1043 Vladimir built the famous Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Novgorod.)

'To Sviatoslav,' continues Yaroslav's testament, 'I assign the districts of Tscherneegov; to Vsevolod, those of Periaslavl; to Viatcheslav, Smolensk; to Igor, Vladimir-Volinski.'

'If you, my children, continue to live in love and at peace with each other,' continued the dying father, 'God will be with you, and will protect you from your enemies. But if you hate one another, and begin to live in strife and malice, you will thus yourselves destroy the country of your forefathers, which they obtained after so much labour.'

Yaroslav next forbade his sons to deprive each other of their possessions, or to expel brothers from their home; then, turning to Iziaslav, added, 'If any one allows himself to offend your brother, take the part of the injured.'

Yaroslav the Great died in 1054, February 19, on Feodor's Saturday. He was above seventy years of age (Professor Pogodine, p. 111). The marble tomb of Yaroslav, profusely adorned with sculpture, still remains entire in Kiev in the Cathedral of Saint Sophia founded by himself (1037).

Unlike his father Vladimir, Yaroslav had married only one wife. He used even to insist on this by reminding his sons that, 'as children of the same mother, they should live in harmony with each other.'

In 1019 Yaroslav had been united in marriage to Ingogerda, daughter of Olaf, King of Sweden—a spirited, remarkably energetic princess.

Yaroslav likewise married all his children to foreigners. His eldest son Vladimir, according to annalists, was united to a northern princess, thought to have been daughter of Harold, King of England.

Iziaslav's consort was daughter of the Polish King, Metcheslav II., and sister of Casimir.

Vsevolod married a Greek princess—according to some annals, a daughter of Constantine Monomach. Besides, German annals mention that Ida, daughter of Leopold, Count of Stade (an ancient province of Prussia), and Cunegonde Countess of Saxe Gotha, were married to Russian princes (probably Viatscheslav and Igor, sons of Yaroslav); but, on becoming widows, returned again to Germany.

Yaroslav's daughters were also united to foreigners. Elizabeth married Harald the Brave, afterwards King of Norway. Elizabeth died young. She left two daughters—Ingegerda and Mary. Harald was the most remarkable knight of his time, famed in the poetic details of northern sagas. Harald fell at the Battle of Hastings (1066) as ally of Harald Godeverson.

Anna, another daughter of Yaroslav, married Henry I. of France. Anna was a pious princess. According to French annals, '*C'était une dame qui pensait plus aux choses futures qu'aux choses présentes.*' (A lady who thought more of future than of present things.)

Anastasia, third daughter of Yaroslav, became consort of André, King of Hungary.

With the reign of Yaroslav the Great closes the first period of Russian history, *i.e.* from the foundation of the monarchy at Novgorod by Rurik in 862 till the termination of Yaroslav's life in 1054. This was a very glorious period of the national history, for the empire had become consolidated and remained entire. Subsequently, the baneful system of appanages was felt more and more, when each

prince divided his possessions among his sons. Thus Russia no longer formed one powerful state, but was composed of countless petty principalities, whose rulers were constantly at war with each other.

CHAPTER IX

INTERNAL CONDITION OF THE RUSSIAN STATE DURING THE FIRST PERIOD OF ITS NATIONAL HISTORY, 862-1054

EXTENT OF RUSSIA

THE Russian state, augmented by the conquests of Rurik, Oleg, Sviatoslav, Vladimir, and Yaroslav, had gradually extended its boundaries towards the west, from the Baltic Sea and the Western Dvina to the Boog and the Carpathian Mountains. Towards the south were the rapids of the Dnieper and the river Kooban. At the east and north were the Bulgarians of the Volga, along with the present governments of Vologda, Viatka, Archangel, and Finland.

FORM OF GOVERNMENT

The form of government in ancient Russia was monarchical, although the power of the reigning Grand Prince was, according to the spirit of the times, somewhat restrained by his companions in arms. The Prince was obliged to share with them the booty taken in war; while to the bravest and most celebrated warriors he distributed lands and towns. However, these proprietors, some of whom were also entitled princes, were under the power of the Grand Prince. They were obliged to submit to him, and to follow him in warlike expeditions. Higher legislative power also belonged to the Grand Prince. Notwithstanding, the Slavonians enjoyed their previous rights and privileges. For example, the Novgorodians had their celebrated 'Vietché' (Brere) or popular assembly, in which, under precedence of the so-called Posādnik or elder magistrate, were judged all public social affairs.

RANKS AND CONDITIONS

After princes or rulers of regions the highest and most honourable rank was occupied by the 'Boyards,' or Prince's men, and 'Gosti,' or merchant-guests. The Boyards were members of the Grand Prince's council. The 'Gosti' carried on trade. They were at that epoch highly esteemed. They possessed the confidence of the Grand Princes, and were intrusted with their commissions at foreign courts. This explains why Ascold and Deer immediately sent to confer

with Oleg. These rulers of Kiev did not consider their dignity lessened by going to visit the supposed 'Gost,' or merchant-guest, who had fallen ill, as Oleg falsely reported. The middle classes chiefly included the inhabitants of towns, the most important of which were Kiev, Novgorod, Pskov, Smolensk, Rostov, and Lioubetch. Slaves were, for the greater part, prisoners taken in war.

IMPOSTS

For the necessity of the State, imposts were levied. They were paid in natural productions, such as skins of animals. An impost was levied on individuals, also on families and on ploughs.

LAWS AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

No community can exist without laws. We may accordingly suppose that the ancient Russians, even previous to the foundation of the monarchy by Rurik, had laws, or, at all events, certain conditions, in order to protect the honour, property, and personal safety of individuals. Finally, when the Varyaghean-Roosi founded the Russian monarchy, they introduced in it distinct Russian laws, formed generally on the sanctity of given word, on the confidence in oaths, and finally on justice. This is evident from the treaties of Oleg and Igor with the Greeks. But these laws were not yet arranged in order. The glory of accomplishing this important act is due to Yaroslav the Great. He issued a code or collection of Russian laws known as the 'Rooskaia Pravda.'

The chief aims of that wise legislator were the assurance of personal safety, the preservation of the property of each individual. For murder the punishment was death; and, in such cases, according to the spirit of the times, the relatives of the murdered man had a right to revenge themselves on the murderer. If there were no relatives to do so, the murderer was obliged to pay a pecuniary fine. For blows—fighting, injuring any member of the body, or stealing the property of others—the usual punishment was a pecuniary fine, the greater part of which went to the State, and the remainder was given to those who had suffered loss. These pecuniary fines were regulated by law, and were larger or smaller according to the circumstances and importance of the crime, also according to the condition and sex of the offended party. Denunciations, or convincing proofs, were given by oath. The jury, or judgment of twelve persons, as now exists in England, was deemed indisputable; and, according to that decision, the judge determined the punishment of the guilty. The chief place of judgment was the Prince's court. The administration of justice was chiefly conducted by the Boyards, and the so-called 'Tioone' or judges. But the real legislator and the chief administrator

of justice was the Grand Prince himself. His decision was esteemed final and most sacred.

The clergy, while administering their own affairs, also took part in legislation. In fact, the Grand Princes considered the metropolitan and bishops as great authorities, and consulted them in important State transactions. Indeed, these clerical dignitaries were called upon to decide matters regarding religious belief and morals. The chief guide of the clergy in such cases was the Nomocanon or collection of statutes made by the fathers of the Greek Church. Till our own times there still remain Saint Vladimir's *Clerical Statutes*, in which the decision of the clergy in many civil and religious questions is decreed. Not a few, however, consider these statutes fictitious. But the style is that of remote antiquity; and the contents are in accordance with the spirit, the times, and character of the prince considered 'equal to the Apostles.' Indeed, Vladimir, on adopting the Christian faith, was surrounded by clergy. He esteemed and loved them. Thus he doubtless secured to them special rights and privileges.

AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH

At this epoch the affairs of the Russian Church were administered by the Greek clergy, the chief of whom was a metropolitan sent to Russia from Greece, and whose place of residence was Kiev. But Yaroslav I., desiring to limit the influence of the Patriarch of Constantinople on the affairs of the Church in Russia, ordered that a born Russian should be promoted to the dignity of metropolitan. He was named Ilarion. It was also during the reign of Yaroslav I. (1019-1054) that a holy man called Anthony founded the celebrated Kiev Petscherski cloister. Yaroslav, besides, ordered the translation from Greek into Slavonian of many church books, and diligently read them himself. He even copied several, and placed them in the Cathedral of Saint Sophia for public use. He founded schools for the education of youth, and, like his father Vladimir, ordered boys to be sent to the clergy for instruction. In a word, Yaroslav strove to promote the wellbeing and enlightenment of his people. He, moreover, punished the heathen 'Volhvi' or magicians who excited the people against Christianity.

NAVIGATION AND TRADE—MONEY

The ancient Russians often sailed great distances in their decked vessels with one mast: towards the north by the Volhov, Lake Ladoga, the Neva, and the Baltic Sea; towards the south by the Dnieper. In the latter direction they had to pass the dangerous rapids of the Dnieper to reach the Black Sea, which,

in fact, was then specially named Russian from the exploits there achieved by these hardy navigators. They fearlessly struggled with its waves, and caused the inhabitants of the eastern empire to tremble. In fact, a passion for booty and plunder prompted the ancient Russians to undertake these distant expeditions; but, at a later period, they had trade as a chief object in view. The dangers encountered by merchants at the rapids of the Dnieper and at the Black Sea, the treaties made by the Russian princes and the Greeks—treaties chiefly founded on commercial intercourse between the two nations—the privileges granted to Russian traders residing at Constantinople, clearly prove that commerce then carried on was profitable alike to Greeks and Russians. Russian merchants took honey, wax, and furs to Greece, and imported thence gold, silver, different articles of Greek manufacture, wine, fruits, etc. Trade at the north was carried on by the Baltic Sea; and the chief centre of commerce in that direction was the famous city of Novgorod. Money consisted in skins of animals, principally those of the marten and the squirrel. Hence originated the so-called 'Kooni' (Koonitza, a marten), the most ancient Russian money. Small money consisted of the snouts of animals, or little pieces of their skin. A certain number of marten skins formed the 'Greevna,' according to the existing price. In Russia, also, foreign metal coins began to be in use, particularly Greek ducats, Homizmi and Solidi.

MODE OF LIFE

The success of trade, the increase of wealth, both in the State and among the people, had, of course, an influence on the mode of life among the ancient Russians. Besides, from the frequent commercial intercourse with Greece, the former simplicity of life and manners began to disappear. Not only so, at the court of the Grand Princes, and in the dwellings of the nobles, luxury was introduced. It chiefly consisted in maintaining a number of servants and in wearing rich apparel made of silk materials, etc. etc.

THE ART OF WAR

Rurik and his successors in power made the ancient Russians advance in all concerning the art of war. Henceforth Russian warriors marched against the enemy in military order, covered themselves with armour, and made use of large shields as protection against blows. Towns were surrounded by wooden walls, but they were, notwithstanding, strong; and beside them were towers, which at once served to adorn the city and to defend it. The chief military force of the Russian princes of this epoch consisted of Varyagheans (Normans), who every-

where offered their services for payment. The militia immediately near the Grand Prince's person was formed of his own Boyards, or nobles; while younger warriors distinguished for bravery were designated as 'princes,' 'pages,' and 'gridni' (lifeguards, satellites). The chief commander of land and sea forces was the Grand Prince himself. Under his orders were Voevodes, Teesiatski, commander of a thousand (from *teesiatscha*, 1000); Sotniki, commander of a hundred (from *sto*, 100); and Desiatski, commander of ten (from *desiat*, 10).

Sviatoslav Igorovitch inspired his warriors with intrepidity. Vladimir developed in them feelings of noble ambition.

DEGREE OF CIVILISATION—ARTS

As regards mental culture, the ancient Russians, previous to the reign of Vladimir, had made but feeble progress. They merely knew some simple mechanical arts. The wise men of the epoch were the so-called 'Volhvi,' or magicians; but even among them the number of those who could read was small. Finally, however, with the introduction of Christianity, education was also diffused. Both at Kiev and Novgorod, Vladimir and Yaroslav founded schools, whose teachers were chiefly Greeks. The translation of sacred works from Greek into Slavonian was greatly instrumental in forming eloquent Russ, particularly that of the Church. The primitive beauty, riches, importance, and majesty of the Slavonian language have been preserved in sacred writings generally, and particularly in works of the Church. Hence originated two distinct forms of expression, existing even till now in Russia, *i.e.* the language of the Church and that in popular use.

In fact, the original Slavonian language gradually underwent changes, and formed itself into many dialects—the purest, the richest, and best, according to Karamzine, being that now spoken in Great or Central Russia (including Moscow and adjacent governments), and known by the name of Russ.

Along with the Christian faith were introduced in Russia arts which flourished in Greece, or, in other words, Architecture and Painting. The Desiatine Church, founded by Saint Vladimir in Kiev, as well as churches and monasteries erected by the pious zeal of Yaroslav, bear witness to this fact.

MORALS

The Christian faith contributed greatly to ameliorate the morals of the Russian people. Notwithstanding, a favourable change did not immediately appear. For this very reason it was that as yet their morals were a mixture of virtue and vice. Esteem for parents or for aged individuals, honesty,

hospitality, frankness, sincerity, were at the same time combined with revenge and an inclination to ravish and to rob. 'But the Russian people, although still rude,' says Karamzine, 'notwithstanding, knew how to appreciate and love their good sovereigns, and wept over the remains of the warlike Oleg, the wise Olga, Saint Vladimir, and his memorable son, Great Yaroslav "The Lawgiver." And thus has been left to posterity an example of gratitude which does honour to the Russian name.'

PERIOD II

FROM THE DEATH OF YAROSLAV THE GREAT IN 1054 TILL THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TARTAR YOKE IN 1238. 1054—1224—1237-1238. DURING THIS EPOCH THE SYSTEM OF APPANAGES WAS FULLY DEVELOPED

CHAPTER I

REIGN OF IZIASLAV (DIMITRI) YAROSLAVITCH, 1054-1077

WE now come to the Second Period of the History of Russia, from the death of Yaroslav the Great (1054) till the establishment of the Tartar yoke (1237-1238). In 1224 a bloody battle was fought at the river Kalka, where the Russians were completely defeated by the Tartars.

This is a peculiarly sad period of the national history. Indeed, we may truly say that in the tomb which received the remains of Great Yaroslav were also interred the power and glory of ancient Russia, for it was soon afterwards divided and subdivided into countless petty principalities or appanages. The country was, moreover, desolated by civil war, lost all strength, and eventually fell a prey to fierce, cruel barbarians—the Tartars.

According to Yaroslav's testament, his eldest son, Iziaslav, ascended the throne of Kiev. His brothers meanwhile administered their own appanages, and peace continued for about ten years.

At this epoch new and most dangerous enemies to Russia appeared in the Polovtsi, a people of Tartar origin, in character and mode of life resembling the Petchenègues; and, saddest of truths, at the very time these enemies were devastating the districts of Periaslavl, concord between Iziaslav and his brothers was at an end. This was peculiarly unfortunate, as unanimity among the Princes was invaluable to Russia, and indeed might have saved it. Iziaslav was, notwithstanding, forced to march against Vseslav, Prince of Polotzk, great-grandson of Saint Vladimir and Rognieda. Vseslav had revolted. Iziaslav

defeated Vseslav on the banks of the Memel; then, under pretext of friendship, invited him to Kiev and shut him up in a dungeon. Treachery so great was, however, not permitted to pass unpunished. The Polovtsi defeated Iziaslav and his brothers on the banks of the Alta. Notwithstanding, the inhabitants of Kiev wished to renew the struggle with their powerful enemies, and demanded reinforcements of arms; but Iziaslav refused to grant this request. A revolt then ensued in Kiev. The rebels liberated Vseslav from prison and proclaimed him their Prince. Not content with so doing, they plundered the dwellings of many Boyards, and did not even spare that of the Grand Prince himself. Iziaslav thereupon fled to the Poles, and with their aid once more took possession of Kiev. So Vseslav was forced to withdraw to Polotsk.

But the sons of Yaroslav did not long remember the good advice given them by their father on his deathbed, or, in other words, to live together in peace. So discord again broke out among the Princes. Sviatoslav of Tscherneegov and Vsevolod of Periaslavl took up arms against Iziaslav. He was accordingly obliged again to apply to the Polish King, Boleslav II. The latter, however, finally withdrew from Iziaslav, after taking all his treasures from him. The unhappy exile next sought aid in Germany from Henry IV., but in vain; for Sviatoslav, who had meanwhile seized the throne of Kiev, bribed the Emperor with gifts. So Henry took the part of Sviatoslav against Iziaslav. This Prince next sent his son to the Pope, the famous Gregory VII., to implore his help. In a letter written to Iziaslav, Gregory VII. considers himself 'the Spiritual Sovereign of Russia,' and orders the King of Poland to return to the Prince of Kiev all the treasures taken from him.

But at length circumstances, rather than the Court of Rome, aided Iziaslav. Sviatoslav died. Vsevolod offered his friendship to Iziaslav. So the exile once more returned to Kiev.

Tranquillity was thus restored, though not for a lengthened period. Sviatoslav's son Oleg, who reigned in the districts of Vladimir, and subsequently in those of Tmootarakan, took up arms against his uncle Vsevolod. Oleg hired the Polovtsi to aid him; so they took and plundered Tscherneegov. Vsevolod then fled to Kiev. There Iziaslav received him with brotherly love, and offered him assistance. Troops were accordingly assembled. A battle then ensued at Tscherneegov. Vsevolod gained the victory, but lost his brave brother Iziaslav, who was killed during the engagement. His remains were transported to Kiev, and at his funeral 'the mourning of the people prevented the chanting of the clergy from being heard,' according to contemporary annals.

In spite of a somewhat weak disposition, Iziaslav was adorned by

many virtues—mildness, a forgiving spirit, love of justice, attachment to his subjects.

Iziaslav's consort was a Polish princess, Metcheslava, sister of Casimir. Iziaslav's sons were Sviatopolk, Mstislav, Michael, Yaropolk, Youree. Sviatopolk subsequently reigned in Kiev.

CHAPTER II

REIGN OF VSEVOLOD I. (YAROSLAVITCH), 1077-1093

At the remote period of which we now write the eldest Prince was in reality heir to the throne of Russia. Thus, although Iziaslav Yaroslavitch left sons, he was notwithstanding succeeded by his brother Vsevolod.

This Prince sincerely desired the prosperity of his subjects, and liked peace. But, to his great dismay, he was doomed to witness constant bloodshed. His only consolation was his son, the subsequently celebrated Vladimir Monomach—the glory and pride of all Russia.

This brave Prince of Tscherneegov subdued the rebellious Vseslav of Polotsk, defeated the Viaitichi, and the most dangerous of all Russia's enemies—the Polovtsi. But in spite of this, the constant discord and civil war of the appanaged Princes destroyed the fruits of all Monomach's victories; and at this epoch Russia was also overwhelmed by other terrible calamities. These were nothing less than a pestilential epidemic and a new invasion of the Polovtsi.

Meanwhile, amid misfortunes so great, the pious, humane Vsevolod, oppressed with age and grief at the sufferings of his people, passed away.

His son, Vladimir Monomach, rendered powerful by the love of the people and by general esteem, could easily have taken possession of the Grand Princely throne of Kiev. But this good and wise prince loved peace. He, besides, earnestly desired the prosperity of Russia. So, to avoid civil war, he quietly yielded the right of seniority to Iziaslav's son, Sviatopolk.

Annalists mention two consorts of Vsevolod Yaroslavitch—Anna, a Greek princess, and a second whose name is not recorded. She had a son, Rostislav, drowned in the river Stoogna, and three daughters, all of whom became nuns. The eldest was Evpraxia. She married the Emperor Henry IV. of Germany, but afterwards separated from him, and died in Russia. Vsevolod's second daughter was named Catherine. The third daughter was Ianka. She founded a cloister near the Church of Saint André, built by her father. Ianka took a journey to

Constantinople, and, on returning to Russia, brought along with her the Metropolitan John, famed for his learning.

In Professor Pogodine's work, *Ancient Russian History till the Mongol Yoke* (vol. ii. pp. 176, 177), we find the following curious details concerning the death of Prince Rostislav Vsevolodovitch:—

'On hearing of Vsevolod's death, the Polovtsi made inroads on Russian territory; so Monomach assembled armies, and ordered his brother Rostislav to do so too. A fierce encounter with the enemy ensued, but the Russian Princes were defeated. On reaching the river Stoogna, Rostislav Vsevolodovitch was drowned before his brother's eyes. While attempting to save him, Vladimir himself nearly perished.

'Rostislav's body was brought to Kiev, where his mother and all the people mourned over him "on account of his youth."

'According to tradition, Prince Rostislav went to the Petschersk Monastery, there to receive a blessing before the expedition against the Polovtsi. One monk named Gregory had gone to the Dnieper to bring water. The Prince's servants then began to laugh at him. The old man then replied, "My children, you should rather humble yourselves, for you sin greatly! God's judgment is on you. You and your Prince will all perish in the water!" On hearing this, Rostislav was highly incensed. He thought the old man threatened him. So the Prince ordered Gregory's feet and hands to be tied, a stone to be fastened to his neck, and thus he was cast into the river. "Die!" exclaimed the haughty young man; "thou sayest I will be drowned, but I can swim!" Whereupon Rostislav, in a rage, left the monastery without receiving a blessing.'

CHAPTER III

REIGN OF SVIATOPOLK II. (MICHAEL) IZIASLAVITCH, 1093-1113

At this epoch the Polovtsi made several inroads on the southern districts of Russia. The ardent, hasty Sviatopolk of Kiev, contrary to Monomach's advice, advanced against these powerful enemies, but was twice completely defeated by them.

Meanwhile Oleg, the unquiet Prince of Tmootarakan, again determined to ruin the possessions of his kinsmen. He joined the Polovtsi and besieged Tscherneegov. Monomach defended himself bravely, but he foresaw frightful bloodshed. Thus, to spare the people's sufferings, he ceded Tscherneegov to Oleg, and withdrew to Periaslavl.

Oleg has left so bad a remembrance of himself that he has been surnamed 'Goréslavitch,' or famed for grief (from *goré*, grief, and *slava*, fame, glory), as he occasioned so much misery in Russia.

The whole country, in fact, greatly suffered from constant civil discord and repeated incursions of the enemy. Thus the Russian Princes—doubtless at Monomach's suggestion—resolved to hold a Council at Lioobetch. There they solemnly deliberated over the mournful state of existing affairs, and at length formed the following resolutions:—to forget all personal quarrels, to unite together with heart and soul, by combined forces to take up arms against external enemies, and he who opposed his other kinsmen should be considered as a general enemy.

These good resolutions were confirmed by each Prince taking a solemn oath and by kissing the Cross. 'Yes, indeed,' exclaimed all present; 'let Russian ground be our common native country!'

Its best friend, Monomach, rejoiced on hearing these words. But, alas! his joy was of short duration. Sviatopolk listened to the calumny of Yaroslav's grandson, David Igorovitch. The latter maintained that Prince Vasilko of Terebovl was ambitious and treacherous. Vasilko had gone to visit Sviatopolk in Kiev. Sviatopolk gave up Vasilko to David, and by his orders the unhappy Vasilko had his eyes put out! He was then loaded with chains and cast into a dungeon.

When Monomach and the other Princes heard of what had taken place, they were filled with indignation. Monomach was especially incensed. While shedding tears, he exclaimed, 'Never before has so hateful a crime been perpetrated in Russia! Let us punish the monster!—the enemy of us all!' Monomach likewise wrote in the same strain to Sviatopolk. Thus civil war was about to take place, but was averted by the entreaties of the Metropolitan of Kiev and by Vsevolod's widow, the Dowager Grand Princess. Their tears and supplications lessened Monomach's indignation.

Ilovaiski, in his *Outline of Russian History* (pp. 26, 27), thus describes the above-mentioned tragic events:—

'At the very time when in Eastern Russia the struggle for the Principality of Tscherneegov had ceased, towards the west terrible civil discord broke out concerning the districts of Vladimir-Volhynia. According to the decision of the assembled Princes at the Council of Lioobetch, the said districts had been divided among the Rostislavitchi (sons of Rostislav) and their second cousin, David Igorovitch (see the preceding genealogical table).

'But David Igorovitch was totally displeased at that decision. By it the best part of Volhynia had been assigned to Volodar and Vasilko Rostislavitchi. Not

only so, David thus became the neighbour of two very warlike Princes. He therefore resolved on perpetrating an odious act which has for ever stamped his name with infamy. He it was who, first among Russian Princes, violated the recent solemn oath taken with his kinsmen. He calumniated Vasilko, accused him of various ambitious projects, and thus prejudiced against him the terrified, credulous Grand Prince Sviatopolk. The latter accordingly allured the unhappy Vasilko to Kiev, and then treacherously gave him up to David Igorovitch. The latter ordered Vasilko to be deprived of sight, and then he was cast into prison.

‘Annalists in the following terms,’ continues Ilovaiski, ‘narrate this revolting scene :—

“Vasilko, along with his militia, on returning from the Council at Lioobetch, passed by Kiev, and halted to spend the night near the town. On the following morning Sviatopolk sent him a message to this effect, ‘Do not run away from my name’s-day.’ Vasilko replied that he must hurry home. But Sviatopolk begged him to come, if only for a short time. Vasilko then consented to do so, and, along with some followers, went to Kiev. On the way a young lad met Vasilko, and said to him, ‘Do not go, Prince! They wish to seize thee!’

“But the Prince did not believe this, and continued his way. In Sviatopolk’s dwelling Vasilko met David. Meanwhile, as the host was conversing with his guest, David sat silent with downcast eyes. Sviatopolk then left the apartment on pretext of overlooking preparations for entertainment. David also went away. Vasilko was thereupon surrounded by warriors, who loaded him with irons.

“It was at that epoch customary for princes to consult with their militia and the better class of their subjects concerning any important affair. Thus Sviatopolk did so on the following day. He assembled his Boyards and the elders among the citizens of Kiev, and told them, on David’s testimony, that Vasilko and Volodar Rostislavitchi intended to kill him (Sviatopolk) and to take his possessions. He even accused Monomach also. But the Boyards returned an evasive answer in the following terms: ‘Thou, Prince, shouldst certainly take care of thy head; and if the accusation is true, Vasilko deserves punishment; but if David has told a lie, he must answer for it to God!’

“The Grand Prince, however, after some hesitation, yielded to the suggestions of David, and gave the prisoner into his hands. During the night Vasilko was removed to Bielgorod, and there he was taken to a peasant’s hut. In it Vasilko saw a shepherd, who kept sharpening a knife. The unhappy captive immediately guessed that he was about to be made blind, and he shed bitter tears. And, sure enough, two grooms soon came. One was in the service of Sviatopolk, and the other in that of David. The grooms then spread a carpet on the floor, and

endeavoured to throw Vasilko down on it. But the poor prince struggled with the courage of despair. Two other men were accordingly summoned. They then threw down Vasilko and placed a board on his breast. All four next sat on the board till Vasilko's bones were actually heard to crack. Then the shepherd, who had been sharpening the knife (a man of Turkish origin), in the most brutal manner put out Vasilko's eyes. Half dead, he was cast into a cart and conveyed to Vladimir. In that town, by David's orders, Vasilko was thrown into a dungeon guarded by thirty warriors. However, thanks to his brother Volodar, Vasilko was finally liberated; and, during subsequent civil wars, in spite of his blindness, he often accompanied Volodar and their militia to the field of battle."

Meanwhile, Monomach succeeded in reconciling many of the princes, who previously had been at enmity with each other. The favourable result of this important step was a glorious victory gained over the Polovtsi as the fruit of concord and unity. Encouraged by this success, the Russians penetrated to the Vorskla and the Don. There, under command of Monomach, they again overcame the Polovtsi in a bloody battle, and were enriched by spoil. With this famous victory the reign of Sviatopolk terminated.

According to the author of a biography of Saint Barbara (Seetine's edition), Sviatopolk married a Greek princess named Barbara. His second consort was a daughter of Toogorkhan, Prince of the Polovtsi. Historians do not mention the name of Sviatopolk's third consort; but Karamzine (vol. ii. note 168) is of opinion that this prince had been married three times. Sviatopolk left several sons—Yaroslav, Mstislav, Briatscheslav, and Iziaslav.

CHAPTER IV

REIGN OF VLADIMIR (VASILI) VSEVOLODOVITCH MONOMACH, 1113-1125

AFTER the decease of Sviatopolk, Vladimir Monomach, urged by the desires and entreaties of the people, ascended the throne of Kiev.

Although naturally mild and of a humane disposition, this prince was, notwithstanding, stern and formidable towards outward and inward enemies. Vladimir's sons and grandsons rendered Russian arms glorious by victories gained over the Tschoods, as well as in Livonia, in Bulgaria, and on the banks of the Don. In a word, the wonderful mind, virtue, and brilliant conquests of Monomach rendered his name famous far and near. His friendship was sought by the Emperor Alexis Comnenus, who sent him the regalia of his grandfather

Constantine Monomach, *i.e.* a crown, a gold chain, and a so-called 'Barmee' or short mantle.

In some annals it is stated that Neophithus, Metropolitan of Ephesus, conveyed these gifts to Vladimir Monomach, crowned him in Kiev with the Imperial crown, and proclaimed him Sovereign of Russia.

This very same crown (or Monomach's fur hat) is still carefully preserved in the Armoury Hall of the Moscow Kreml.

It may be from the fact of receiving the above-mentioned regalia, or perhaps from the name of Vladimir's grandfather, Constantine Monomach, or from the intrepid character of Vladimir himself, that he has been surnamed 'Monomach.' The word means a duellist.

Even the very civil war of the other Russian princes contributed to Vladimir Monomach's glory; for he knew how to subdue the rebellious and to render them obedient. In a word, after gaining famous victories, confirming the power of Russia, and living so as to ameliorate the morals of his subjects, Vladimir Monomach closed his career at the age of seventy-two. His last hours proved his vivid belief in religious truth; so that on him has been bestowed the most honourable surname of 'Father of his People.' His remains, moistened by the tears of his children and of his subjects, were interred in the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Kiev.

The memory of this most remarkable prince is held sacred by the Russians, and will never perish. He loved his native country, and tears always filled his eyes when he prayed for his subjects. He was adorned by Christian virtues. His bravery was tempered by mildness and magnanimity. While conquering enemies, and amid the horrors of war, he esteemed the rights of humanity. He was always gentle, of a forgiving spirit, and did good even to his enemies. We must not also omit to notice an excellent quality in the character of Vladimir Monomach. He constantly honoured his father, and in nothing disobeyed him. Finally, Vladimir Monomach's *Precepts*, composed by himself for his sons, prove to us that he possessed a tender, sensitive, noble soul, a kind heart, and a cultivated mind.

From the *Precepts* of Monomach we also learn how unwearied his activity had been. He had spent the greater part of his life away from home. At night he generally slept on the damp ground. In his own house, or while travelling, he was accustomed to do everything for himself, and paid attention to all. He rose before dawn, went to morning prayers, then he took counsel with his Boyards and administered justice, afterwards he went to hunt, etc.

It is thus that he himself describes some of his achievements:—

‘My campaigns have been in all eighty-three, without counting those of less importance. While hunting in the woods I sometimes caught several wild horses at once. Twice a bull tossed me on its horns, a stag boxed me, an elk stamped me underfoot, a wild boar tore the sword from my thigh, a bear bit my saddle, a wolf threw down my horse under me; but God preserved my life uninjured.’

In Vladimir Monomach’s *Precepts*, after urging his children to live in peace and concord, he thus continues:—

‘Above all, have the fear of God. Do not give way to sloth. During war avoid trusting to Voevodes (commanders of armies), but attend to all yourselves. Esteem old men as fathers, and the young as brothers. Strictly follow justice, and observe the oath taken while kissing the cross. Honour guests and ambassadors, if not by gifts, at all events by hospitality in eating and drinking, for these strangers spread abroad in foreign countries good and evil report. Learn to be the father of your people. Do not allow orphans and widows to be offended by the powerful. Be benevolent. Do not forget the poor. Do not abandon the sick. Pray earnestly to God; and never go to sleep before bending your knees. Esteem the clergy who pray for us. Avoid falsehood, pride, indolence, intemperance, and all vices hurtful to soul and body. In war be brave and magnanimous. In all circumstances of life show manliness. Place your entire hope, not on man, but on God alone.’

Historians mention three consorts of Vladimir Monomach—Gyda, daughter of Harald, King of England; the names of the others are unknown.

Monomach’s most remarkable son was Mstislav the Great. The others were Viatcheslav, Iziaslav—killed in battle during his father’s life,—Raman, also died during his father’s life, Youree, surnamed ‘Dolgorooki,’ André, and Sviatoslav.

Monomach had three daughters. Ephemia married Coloman, King of Hungary. Mary married an Imperial Prince of Greece. He was Leo, surnamed by Anna Comnena ‘The Pretender.’ Mary died in Russia. She had taken the monastic veil. Her son Vasili served the Russian Grand Princes. Agaphia, third daughter of Monomach, married a Russian prince, Vsevolod Davidovitch of Gorodensk.

CHAPTER V

REIGN OF MSTISLAV VLADIMIROVITCH THE GREAT, 1125-1132

THE universal love of the people for Monomach extended to his children. Therefore, his eldest son, Mstislav, ascended the throne of Kiev, and worthy he

was in every respect to do so. Indeed, he justified the hope of all, and manifested the great qualities and virtues of his father.

The reign of Mstislav the Great is remarkable for the success of Russian arms. He defeated the Polovtsi and expelled them from the regions of the Don and the Volga. After putting a stop to civil discord in the south of Russia, Mstislav subdued the principality of Polotsk and gained victories over the Tschoods and Lithuanians. This valiant prince had but a brief reign of seven years, and then passed away at the age of fifty-five.

Mstislav Vladimirovitch has well merited the surname of 'The Great.'

Historians mention two consorts of Mstislav—Christina, daughter of Inga Stenkelson of Sweden, and a second, daughter of Dmitri Zaveditch, Posādnik (chief magistrate) of Novgorod. Tatischev names her Liootava. Mstislav left several sons, among whom we particularly remark Iziaslav, Rostislav, and Vsevolod. The latter was expelled from Novgorod, and died soon afterwards at Pskov. Loloviev (p. 19) says that Vsevolod was older than his brothers. Mstislav Vladimirovitch had also several daughters, one of whom, Rognieda, married a Russian Prince, Briatscheslav of Polotsk. She took care of her brother Rostislav during his last illness. Ingeborg, another daughter of Mstislav, married Saint Canute, King of Denmark, and was mother of Valdemar the Great.

CHAPTER VI

REIGN OF YAROPOLK VLADIMIROVITCH, 1132-1139

AFTER the death of Mstislav the Great terrible civil discord again broke out. His brother, Yaropolk Vladimirovitch, Prince of Periaslav, ascended the throne of Kiev. The appanaged princes took advantage of his good-nature and constantly revolted. Not only so, they waged war among themselves and drove one another from their districts.

In Novgorod also there was neither order nor submission. The people followed their own devices, put the Posadniks to death, and, at the same time, expelled their own prince, the virtuous Vsevolod (Gabriel) Mstislavitch. The dethroned exile was received by the inhabitants of Pskov. There he died and was buried. His tomb is still in preservation.

At this epoch originated a civil war prolonged for the space of a hundred years, and which proved essentially ruinous to Russia. Such was the deadly feud, or hereditary struggle, between the 'Monomachovitchi' and the 'Olgovitchi,' or the posterity of Monomach and that of Oleg Sviatoslavitch (Goreslavitch), Prince

of Tmootarakan. He was the same Oleg to whom Monomach had previously ceded Tscherneegov in order to save bloodshed. Oleg's posterity could in nowise remain quiet on seeing the Grand Princely throne of Kiev occupied by Monomach's children. Accordingly, the fatal consequences of this rivalry were soon felt. On the death of Yaropolk (1139), his brother, Viatscheslav of Periaslavl, was about to take possession of the throne of Kiev, but Vsevolod Olgovitch forestalled him.

The consort of Yaropolk Vladimirovitch was Helena, Princess of Iassi.

CHAPTER VII

REIGN OF VSEVOLOD OLGOVITCH, 1139-1146—REIGN OF HIS BROTHER,
IGOR OLGOVITCH, 1146

CIVIL war again broke out. At this epoch the principality of Galicia, enlarged by the conquests of Prince Vladimirko, became powerful and dangerous to Kiev. Meanwhile, the Monomachovitchi could not hinder Vsevolod Olgovitch from keeping possession of the throne. As if on purpose to favour him, the eldest of that race, Viatscheslav Vladimirovitch, was a weak prince, incapable of government. His younger brother, Youree Vladimirovitch of Rostov, was of a much more energetic character. But he was at enmity with the Mstislavitchi, his nephews; so, on this account, it was more difficult for him to act against Viatscheslav. Amongst those nephews, the eldest, Vsevolod, died at Pskov, as we have already mentioned. Next to Vsevolod came Iziaslav Mstislavitch, Prince of Volhynia, whom Soloviev (p. 19) calls 'not only the best prince of the Monomachovitchi, but the best of all Russian princes, who, more than any of the rest, reminded the people of his grandfather Monomach.' Iziaslav was consequently able to struggle with the Olgovitchi. However, Iziaslav, as a nephew, could do nothing against his uncle, nor act a chief part. Youree, in turn, would not yield to Iziaslav. Making use of these circumstances, Vsevolod Olgovitch remained in Kiev till his death (1146). He wished his successor to be his brother, Igor Olgovitch. But the inhabitants of Kiev did not like the Olgovitchi (or the posterity of the ill-famed Oleg Goréslavitch, *i.e.* famed for grief). Vsevolod Olgovitch was the best prince of that race. Still, he was not popular, because he had allowed various functionaries to oppress the people. But, after Vsevolod's death, when his brother Igor wished to reign, the inhabitants of Kiev refused to obey him, although he promised that they themselves should choose the functionaries. The people declared their prince to be Iziaslav

Mstislavitch. He expelled the Olgovitchi from Kiev. Igor Olgovitch was then made prisoner. Subsequently, the people, in order to show their hatred to the Olgovitchi, put Igor to death, although he meanwhile had hoped to find shelter and safety by becoming a monk (1146).

The consort of Vsevolod Olgovitch was a daughter of Mstislav the Great.

Vsevolod left two sons, Sviatoslav and Yaroslav, and several daughters.

Karamzine mentions the consort of Igor Olgovitch without naming her.

CHAPTER VIII

REIGN OF IZIASLAV MSTISLAVITCH, 1146-1154

IZIASLAV MSTISLAVITCH accordingly began to reign in Kiev; but he could not long continue to do so in peace, as, from the ideas then prevalent, he had usurped the rights of a senior prince, *i.e.* Youree Vladimirovitch. Youree was Iziaslav's uncle. As we have already seen, Youree was a grasping, ambitious man. He would not yield to Iziaslav, and twice drove him out of Kiev. Youree was besides a formidable enemy, for he knew how to act by the sword and by stratagem. So, in order to get rid of him, Iziaslav summoned the old Prince Viatcheslav Vladimirovitch to Kiev, and declared him reigning sovereign as the eldest of all. Viatcheslav was content with the honour thus shown him, and allowed administration to be carried on in his name by Iziaslav. But Youree would in nowise consent to this arrangement. He wished that Viatcheslav should reign alone without Iziaslav's help. To that, however, none would agree, neither Viatcheslav, nor Iziaslav, nor the people, who felt the difference between Iziaslav and Youree. The latter was, in fact, hated, although a son of Monomach. The people used constantly to say, 'We will not have Youree to reign over us!'

At last, Youree was defeated, and, for a time, was forced to abandon the idea of conquering his brave nephew. During this civil war Iziaslav's constant ally was Geiza II. of Hungary, a brother-in-law married to one of Iziaslav's sisters.¹ The ally of Youree Vladimirovitch was Vladimirko Volodarovitch of Galicia. The latter prince, only by cunning and deceit—to which he had recourse in case of need—succeeded in maintaining himself on his throne against the united efforts of Iziaslav and Geiza. Vladimirko died, leaving his undivided possessions to his son, the subsequently famous 'Osmosmuisl,' or 'eight thoughts,' making allusion to his talents.

When Iziaslav Mstislavitch was confirmed in the possession of the throne of

¹ Ellen or Euphrosine, according to Hungarian annals.

Kiev, his greatest desire was to promote the people's happiness. But, alas! to do so, at this stormy epoch, was no easy task, even for 'the best of Russian princes,' as the flames of civil discord still raged, and the country was consequently devastated.

The good Iziaslav Mstislavitch did not long survive Vladimirko, but died in 1154.

Historians mention three consorts of Iziaslav Mstislavitch. The names of two have not been recorded. One—the second, according to Professor Pogodine—was a Princess of Obez, a Caucasian province.

Iziaslav's sons were Mstislav, Yaroslav, Yaropolk, and Vladimir; and a daughter, who married Rogvolod Borisovitch.

CHAPTER IX

REIGNS OF ROSTISLAV MSTISLAVITCH OF SMOLENSK, IZIASLAV DAVIDOVITCH OF TSCHERNEGOV, AND YOUREE VLADIMIROVITCH, SURNAMED 'DOLGOROOKI,' *i.e.* 'THE GRASPING OR LONG-HANDED,' 1154-1157

At this sad epoch of Russian history Kiev passed from hand to hand; and the memory is fatigued by the names of princes who followed each other in rapid succession on the throne.

The aged Viatcheslav Vladimirovitch adopted as successor of Iziaslav his brother Rostislav Mstislavitch of Smolensk, and died soon afterwards.

Rostislav was a good and pious prince, but he possessed neither Iziaslav's bravery nor art of administration.

Rostislav lost a battle fought against the eldest of the princes then reigning in Tscherneegov, *i.e.* Iziaslav Davidovitch (cousin of Vsevolod Olgovitch). Rostislav then lost the throne also. He therefore abandoned Kiev and fled to his former principality, Smolensk. Iziaslav Davidovitch then hoped to reign in Kiev; but he was forced to give place to Youree Vladimirovitch, surnamed 'Dolgorooki,' *i.e.* 'The Grasping or Long-handed.' Youree thus at length obtained the object of his ambition, or, in other words, the throne of Kiev, which he occupied from 1154 till 1157. Tranquillity was thus restored to Russia, but not for a lengthened period. Unlike his father—the great Vladimir Monomach—Youree Dolgorooki was unpopular with his subjects; so discord and civil war soon again broke out. In the midst of this strife Youree died (1157).

In spite of his bad qualities, North-Eastern Russia owes its earliest civilisation to this prince. He it was who there propagated the Christian faith. Youree

also founded schools, built churches and towns. Among the latter were Periaslavl Zalieski (*za*, beyond; *lies*, a wood), Youriev Polski (*polé*, a field), and Dmitriev, named for a son Dmitri (Vsevolod) who had then been born. As Youree, however, had a passion for the south of Russia, he gave some northern towns the same names as those in the south. But he added surnames to the towns of the north, such as Periaslavl Zalieski, to distinguish it from Periaslav in the government of Poltava.

Finally, 'Old Mother Moscow,' as its inhabitants style it with affectionate familiarity, also owes its foundation to Youree Vladimirovitch Dolgorooki. This took place March 8, 1147. Then, at all events, we have the first historical notice of the subsequently celebrated capital. Some, however, affirm that it existed at a much earlier epoch, and was founded by Oleg, successor of Rurik (879-912). 1147.—
Moscow
founded by
Youree Dol-
gorooki.

According to other traditions, as Youree Dolgorooki was once going northwards, with only a few followers, on the way he halted at the estate of a Boyarine (nobleman) named Stepan (Stephen) Ivanovitch Koutschko. The Boyarine, however, on seeing Youree accompanied by so small a retinue, did not receive him respectfully. Youree was therefore highly incensed. He ordered Koutschko to be put to death, and obliged his beautiful daughter Ooleeta to marry the young Prince André Yourievitch—Youree's subsequently celebrated son André, surnamed 'Bogolioobski,' the God-loving or Pious, as the combined words literally mean (*Bogh*, God; *lioobov*, love).

Moscow was long called Koutschkovo, from the Boyarine's name; for it was on his estate that Youree founded a town. He resolved to do so because he was struck with the beautiful position of the property situated on the banks of the river Moskva. Some annals state that in the newly founded town Youree gave a feast to his ally, Sviatoslav Olgovitch, on the occasion of Prince André's wedding.

Great disputes have arisen concerning the name Moscow. Some think it taken from that of the river Moskva, which again comes from *most*, *mostik*, a bridge, a small bridge, thrown over the winding river. According to a tradition, quoted by Karamzine, but which he considers utterly fabulous, Japheth had a son called Mosoch. His wife was Kvoo, their son was Ya, and a daughter Vtsoo, from which four words have been formed Moscow and Yaoza (a small tributary of the Moskva).

But Youree Vladimirovitch Dolgorooki, although he certainly did much for North-Eastern Russia, in nowise possessed the virtues of his never-to-be-forgotten father, Vladimir Monomach. Hence, the inhabitants of Kiev, in spite

of their attachment to that illustrious prince, disliked Youree. He was not even buried in Kiev, but beyond it, at the Cloister of Berestov.

Youree was twice married, first to Anna, or Yourieva, daughter of Aipa, chief of the Polovtsi, and then to a Greek. Professor Pogodine does not mention her name. Others call her Olga. When a recluse she was known as Euphrosine.

Youree had several sons, the most remarkable of whom was André, 'Bogoliobski,' *i.e.* 'The Pious.'¹ Olga, one of Youree's three daughters, married Yaroslav Vladimirovitch of Galicia. Vsevolod III. the Great was also son of Youree.

CHAPTER X

REIGNS OF THE GRAND PRINCES IZIASLAV DAVIDOVITCH OF KIEV;
ANDRÉ YOUREEVITCH BOGOLIOBSKI OF SOUZDAL, 1157-1159

AFTER Youree's death the eldest Prince was Rostislav Mstislavitch. He, however, allowed Iziaslav Davidovitch to take possession of Kiev. Meanwhile Youree's valiant son, André Bogoliobski, who saw in Southern Russia only an apple of discord which produced constant contention among the other princes during his father's life, had withdrawn from Vnishgorod to the districts of Souzdal. There, on the banks of the Kliazma, André founded the town of Bogoliobov, enlarged the town of Vladimir, and adorned it with churches and other buildings. André held intercourse with the Emperor Frederick I., and from him had experienced architects to build a cathedral dedicated to the Mother of our Lord. The building still exists in Vladimir. Under André's wise administration the Principality of Souzdal or Vladimir soon became more powerful than that of Kiev, and was justly called 'Great.'

At this epoch there reigned in Volhynia the son of the famous Iziaslav Mstislavitch, *i.e.* Mstislav Iziaslavitch, whose bravery and activity were like those qualities of his father. When Iziaslav Davidovitch quarrelled with Yaroslav, Mstislav joined the latter, expelled Iziaslav Davidovitch from Kiev, and there placed Rostislav of Smolensk on the throne.

Rostislav was the uncle of Mstislav Iziaslavitch of Volhynia. (See the Table of Genealogy of the Russian Princes.)

¹ Literally, the God-loving.

CHAPTER XI

ROSTISLAV (MICHAEL) MSTISLAVITCH, GRAND PRINCE OF KIEV; ANDRÉ YOUREEVITCH BOGOLIOBSKI, GRAND PRINCE OF VLADIMIR-SOUZDAL, 1159-1167

MEANWHILE André paid no attention to Southern Russia. He only thought of confirming his power in the north and of subduing Novgorod. His efforts were successful, and the Novgorodians acknowledged his sway. André Youreevitch was the first to feel that the fruitful source of all Russia's misfortunes at that epoch was the baneful system of appanages. For which reason, in order to eradicate the evil, at least from his own domains, he gave no appanages to his sons and brothers, but reigned alone. He even expelled his brothers from their principalities, and forced them to withdraw to the Greek Empire.

Captivated by military fame, and urged by necessity, André next turned his arms against the Bulgarians. He gained a great victory over them, and took their chief town, Briacheermov. Grateful to God for this success of Russian arms, André instituted a special festival in honour of the Vladimirski image of the Holy Virgin, which is till now celebrated by the Russo-Greek Church.

At this epoch the Novgorodians were also famous for the success of their arms. They gained several victories over the Swedes, who, having conquered Finland, began to make incursions in Russia.

Meanwhile Rostislav of Kiev died amid general sedition and bloodshed. Rostislav's consort was a daughter of Oleg of Tscherneegov. History does not record her name. The sons of Rostislav were Roman, Rurik, David, Yaropolk, Sviatoslav, and the most celebrated of all, Mstislav the Brave—that valiant Prince 'who, from his earliest childhood, was accustomed to fear none save God alone.'

CHAPTER XII

MSTISLAV IZIASLAVITCH OF KIEV; ANDRÉ OF VLADIMIR-SOUZDAL, 1167-1169

ROSTISLAV was succeeded by his nephew, Mstislav Iziaslavitch of Volhynia. But the latter did not long reign in Kiev, for he was expelled from it by André Youreevitch. Mstislav accordingly once more withdrew to his former principality, Vladimir-Volhynia. Mstislav, in fact, found himself in the same position as his father, or, in other words, neither of these princes was the eldest of his race. Iziaslav's senior was his uncle, Youree Dolgorooka, and Mstislav's senior was

André. The latter, we have already seen, was not one who ceded his rights to any. He was therefore displeased on seeing Kiev occupied by Mstislav. Profiting by the discontent which that Prince had occasioned against himself in the south, André sent a powerful army to oppose Mstislav in 1169. Mstislav could not withstand the united forces of eleven princes; so Kiev was taken, and that ancient 'mother of Russian towns,' according to the designation given the city by Oleg, was pillaged and ruined.

Mstislav's consort was a Polish princess, daughter of Boleslav 'with the twisted mouth.' Roman, son of Mstislav, subsequently became famous. His other sons were Sviatoslav, Vsevolod, and a fourth whose name history has not recorded.

On the throne of Kiev, André placed his brother Gliéb. But at this epoch the glory of that southern principality was eclipsed. Gliéb and his successors depended entirely on André, who henceforth could truly entitle himself 'Grand Prince of Russia.' The city of Kiev gradually fell into oblivion, and in the then existing political system of Russia gave place to Vladimir on the Kliazma.

CHAPTER XIII

ANDRÉ YOUREEVITCH BOGOLIOBSKI, GRAND PRINCE OF RUSSIA, 1169-1174

ANDRÉ BOGOLIOBSKI, by the strength of his arm and by a fortunate combination of circumstances, had thus become sole ruler of the greater part of Russia. Under his sway were the present governments of Vladimir, Rostroma, Yaroslavl, Moscow, part of Novgorod, Tver, Nijni-Novgorod, Toola, and Kalooga. The principality of Kiev, too, completely depended on him. The Princes of Mooron, Smolensk, and even those of Volhynia, in many respects were subject to his power. Only the Princes of Tscherneegov and of Galicia considered themselves independent. So also did Novgorod, although it had previously submitted to André.

This desire for universal dominion it was which prompted André to march against Novgorod; and on so memorable an expedition depended the future happiness of Russia. For, after the fall of Novgorod's independence, it was to be hoped that the baneful system of appanages would be abolished. But, unfortunately, there was not the necessary order required for so important an expedition. André's Voevodes chiefly attacked tillers of the ground, as well as defenceless old men, women, and children. Accordingly a spirit of revenge arose in the Novgorodians. They armed themselves to the very last man, and finally

gained so decisive a victory over André that, in their gratitude to God, they imputed their success to the intercession of the Holy Virgin. Some time afterwards the Novgorodians concluded peace with André, while they confirmed their own rights.

Northern Russia was thus tranquil, but the south still presented a scene of constant civil discord. As if to complete other misfortunes, a terrible invasion of the Polovtsi took place. These barbarians completely devastated the neighbourhood of Kiev. Its Prince, Gliéb, died about this epoch. According to annals, he was a good and virtuous man, ever true to his word. Gliéb's place was filled by Vladimir, Prince of Doregobooj, after whose decease André nominated to the throne of Kiev Roman Rostislavitch of Smolensk, whose brothers then took possession of other towns in Kiev.

Hitherto the junior princes of Russia had been accustomed to consider the reigning Grand Prince rather as an elder brother than as a sovereign, while the latter in turn also esteemed them as relatives, and did not exact implicit obedience from them. But André viewed things differently. He demanded unconditional submission from the younger princes. He desired absolute sway. He expelled his younger brothers from their principalities. He expelled his nephews, sons of a deceased elder brother, Rostislav Youreevitch. André also expelled the old Boyards of his father, 'because,' say annalists, 'Bogolioobski wished to reign alone.'

All this was soon evident in the following instance. André was made to understand that his brother Gliéb had not died a natural death, and some Boyards were then named who were suspected of having poisoned him. André demanded that the Rostislavitchi (sons of Rostislav) should give up the Boyards. The Rostislavitchi, however, refused to do so. André, indignant, ordered the Rostislavitchi immediately to quit Kiev; but they would not obey him. Nay, more, they affronted André's ambassadors by shaving their heads, and thus sending them back to him. The Rostislavitchi thereupon addressed André in the following terms: 'We acknowledged thee as senior, but thou treatest us not as princes, but only as mere helpers. Let God judge between us.'

André was inflamed with passion. According to annalists, 'the fashion of his countenance was darkened.' He then sent powerful forces southwards. They, for a long time, stood without success before the walls of Vnishgorod, occupied by Mstislav Rostislavitch the Brave, and finally fled. It was particularly against the latter prince that André's wrath was kindled.

But at length the valiant André Youreevitch, who had never quailed before any enemy, himself fell a prey to secret foes. His own relatives, the Koutchkooi,

André
Bogoliobski
assassinated,
29th June
1174.

tired of his despotism, formed a conspiracy against him, and André was ignominiously assassinated, 29th June 1174.

The people, allured by the example of the murderers, and excited by passion, plundered André's palace, put his adherents to death, and blackened his memory by calling him a tyrant. History has, however, judged him differently. It has acknowledged that he was an able politician, a brave warrior, pious, too, according to his light and in spite of a violent temper; in short, a second Solomon.

We must not omit to mention that André endeavoured to establish his absolute sway in the newer capital city of Vladimir on the Kliazma, where he was less likely to meet with opposition. For, in the older cities of Souzdal and Rostov, the people were wont to meet at the ringing of a bell, which summoned them to a popular Assembly or *Vietsché*. There important affairs were transacted, and decision passed was followed by newer towns. This popular Assembly was held in Kiev, Novgorod, Polotsk, Smolensk, and other ancient Russian towns.

By orders of André's brother Michael the murderers were sewed up in baskets and then thrown into an adjacent lake. Till this day the superstitious peasants affirm that every year, between the night of June 28th and the morning of June 29th, *i.e.* on the date of André's assassination, dark masses are seen to float on the lake, and mournful human voices, as of the drowning, are heard.

André's consort was Ooleeta Koutschkova, daughter of the Boyarine (nobleman) Koutschkov, put to death and robbed of his estate by Youree Dolgorooki.

André's sons Mstislav, Iziaslav, and Vladimir died young. Another, named Youree, was for some time Prince of Novgorod. Then he went to Georgia, where he married its celebrated Queen, Tamara. Finally, however, Youree Andréévitch disappeared from history and was heard of no more.

Two daughters of André married Russian Princes—Sviatoslav Vladimirovitch of Vschy (nephew of Iziaslav III.) and Oleg, son of Sviatoslav Vsevolodovitch.

CHAPTER XIV

REIGNS OF THE GRAND PRINCES MICHAEL YOUREEVITCH, 1174-1176, AND OF VSEVOLOD YOUREEVITCH, 'WITH THE LARGE NEST,' *i.e.* FATHER OF A NUMEROUS FAMILY, 1176-1212

AFTER André's death the Boyards and the inhabitants of Rostov wished to have a prince as unlike André as possible, and one who would reign according to the old system. For these reasons, they chose neither André's son, Youree, nor his (André's) brothers, Michael and Vsevolod—the lawful heirs, both by right of

seniority and by the testament of Youree Dolgorooki. Accordingly, the Boyards selected Mstislav and Yaropolk Rostislavitchi, André's nephews by his deceased elder brother Rostislav, long since dead. By the laws of inheritance then in force these young princes had no right to take the precedence of older uncles. Thus, if the Rostislavitchi were elevated to power merely by the Boyards and inhabitants of Rostov, the latter calculated on being able to dictate conditions to the young princes. They, as we have already seen, had been expelled by André, and lived in Tscherneegov along with their exiled uncles (André's brothers), Michael and Vsevolod Youreevitchi, also driven away by André. On receiving the invitation of the Boyards and inhabitants of Rostov, the young princes immediately went northwards. But so did their uncles, unwilling to give up their rights. The Boyards and inhabitants of Rostov would not hear of the Youreevitchi (sons of Youree), Michael and Vsevolod. The inhabitants of Vladimir, however, received Michael as their lawful Prince. They were, in fact, obliged to do so in order to maintain the primary importance André had assigned Vladimir by choosing it as his residence, and also to establish their independence. For the inhabitants of Rostov hated Vladimir, and thus spoke of it in derision: 'Vladimir is only our suburb. In it live bondmen and masons. Let us burn their town, and place our Posādnik' (chief magistrate) 'there!'

So the Boyards and inhabitants of Rostov, with their princes, the Rostislavitchi, besieged Michael in Vladimir. Its citizens held out for seven weeks, but were at length forced to capitulate because overcome by famine. They, however, so far maintained their independence, although obliged to reject Michael. Mstislav, the eldest of the Rostislavitchi, began to reign in Rostov, and his younger brother Yaropolk in Vladimir. But its citizens were not destined to remain long in tranquillity. Yaropolk's militia, from Southern Russia, began to plunder in Vladimir, and even the Prince himself did not scruple to devastate the magnificent Cathedral of the Virgin-Mother of Our Lord, erected by André Bogoliobski. The citizens of Vladimir complained to those of Rostov, but obtained no redress. The former accordingly summoned Michael again to rule over them. Michael defeated the Rostislavitchi, expelled them, and confirmed his own power in Vladimir. His brother Vsevolod established himself in Periaslavl Zalieski, as in a newer town. The oldest town of all, *i.e.* Rostov, was abandoned. This occurred in 1175. Unfortunately, Michael's reign was but of short duration. He died during the following year, 1176. Michael Youreevitch was a good, wise, mild, merciful Prince. His consort was named Vsevolodia. They had a son, Gliéb, and a daughter, Mary, who married Vladimir Sviatoslavitch of Tscherneegov.

After Michael's decease the inhabitants of Vladimir and Periaslavl swore allegiance to his brother Vsevolod and to his children. For the first time we remark the act of swearing fidelity to children. But the inhabitants of Rostov summoned their former Prince, Mstislav Rostislavitch. Vsevolod, however, defeated Mstislav, after which event Rostov was forced to give precedence to Vladimir. Meanwhile Vsevolod reigned as André Bogoliobski had done, for the former also gave no appanages to nephews. Vsevolod moreover subdued Riazane and Novgorod, while he administered affairs in Kiev. But Vsevolod, in spite of all his talents, could in nowise lessen the woes of Russia, for discord still continued in the south. Accordingly, the Polovtsi, profiting by these circumstances, devastated the districts of Vladimir. The Grand Prince, however, took up arms, and the invaders were completely overthrown. Encouraged by this success, the Princes of Sieversk also armed themselves, undertook an expedition, and marched against the Polovtsi. But the Russians were defeated, while numbers of them perished or were made prisoners.

This unsuccessful expedition of the Princes of Sieversk, and the captivity of one of them—Igor Sviatoslavitch (pronounced Ee-gor)—who set out alone because he wished no help, have formed the themes for a curious collection of ancient poems, entitled *Words on Igor's Army*, to which we shall subsequently allude.

The discord which still existed in Southern Russia was between the 'Monomachovitchi' and the 'Olgovitchi,' or the posterity of 'Monomach' and that of 'Oleg' Sviatoslavitch, Prince of Tmootarakan. Vsevolod took the part of his own race, *i.e.* the 'Monomachovitchi.' But, to prevent them from becoming too powerful, he did not allow the 'Olgovitchi' to be completely defeated. Vsevolod even excited quarrels among the 'Monomachovitchi' themselves. Strife for the possession of Kiev was carried on between the 'Olgovitchi' and the Rostislavitchi of Smolensk, the eldest of whom, Rurik, had been placed in Kiev by Vsevolod. But the most remarkable of these princes was the son of Mstislav the Brave, *i.e.* Mstislav Mstislavitch the Bold. He was Prince of Toropets, and, like his father, was a model of an ancient Southern Russian Prince. Mstislav the Bold never thought of enriching himself or his children at the expense of other princes. He never thought of augmenting his property, but only aimed at distinction from warlike exploits. He liked to decide disputes by fighting, in the success of which he saw the judgment of God. Along with his militia, also famed for bravery, he rode about from one extremity of Russia to another, and everywhere appeared when it was necessary to defend the weak against the strong, or to maintain the ancient order of things. In all these respects the character of Mstislav the Bold presents a striking contrast to that of Vsevolod III. He was a specimen of

the greater part of his posterity, *i.e.* the northern princes of Russia; or, in other words, he was exceedingly prudent. He was no lover of decided acts or decided battles, which might be gained, but which might also be lost. He would yield in cases where he saw doubtful success. Notwithstanding, he constantly strove to accomplish his aims; and these aims were always the same, both with him and his posterity, namely, to enrich themselves at the cost of other princes and to subdue them. These constant efforts of Vsevolod and his posterity greatly contributed to establish power invested in one sovereign in Russia.

Such was the remarkable difference in the princes belonging to the various branches of Monomach's posterity, *i.e.* the Rostislavitchi, posterity of Mstislav the Great, and the Youreevitchi, descended from Dolgorooki. We have, however, seen that Mstislav the Great had a son older than Rostislav, namely, the famous Iziaslav Mstislavitch of Volhynia ('the best of all Russian princes'), whose son Mstislav Iziaslavitch was expelled from Kiev by the forces of Bogoliobski. That same Mstislav, who was obliged to be content with the principality of Volhynia, and died there, left a son named Roman. 'In that princely line brilliant qualities, bravery, and activity were hereditary,' says Soloviev in his *Epitome of Russian History* (p. 25).

Roman Mstislavitch, like his father and grandfather, no longer paid attention to Kiev, which had lost its previous importance, but turned his thoughts towards the west. In that direction was the rich principality of Galicia. Roman succeeded in confirming his power there when the line of Galician princes—also Rostislavitchi—became extinct in the person of Vladimir, son of the famous Yaroslav 'Osmosmuisl.' But in Galicia the Boyards were very powerful, much more so than in other Russian principalities. Thus Roman, in order to consolidate his position, had recourse to great cruelty towards the Boyards with a view to extirpate them. Roman was killed during a war with the Poles. He left a bad remembrance of himself among the Galician nobles (Boyards); but in popular tradition he was extolled for his bravery in expeditions against the Polovtsi, the Iatvigi, and the Lithuanians. The Galicians used, in fact, to say proverbially, 'The Lithuanians are only like oxen before the terrible Roman!'

Roman left two infant sons, Daniel and Vasilko. They were, however, expelled by the Boyards, who began to elect first one neighbouring prince and then another to rule over them. Then a struggle for Galicia began among the Russian princes—the 'Monomachovitchi' and the 'Olgovitchi'—as also between the Poles and Hungarians.

At the same epoch, towards the north-west, on the shores of the Baltic Sea, amongst the savage Tschoods, who paid tribute to the Princes of Polotsk, the

Germans became powerful. The monk Meinhardt, who subsequently received from the Pope the dignity of a Bishop, began to convert the native Livonians to the religion of Rome. As they, however, showed great opposition to the new faith, Meinhardt's third successor, Bishop Albert, after building the town of Riga in 1201, established an Order of Knights Sword-bearers to keep the natives in constant submission and to extend the domains of the Church at Riga. The Princes of Polotsk were at this time so weak that they could offer no resistance, and were even obliged to cede their possessions in Kooria to the Knights.

Such was the condition of Russia when the reign of Vsevolod III. was drawing to a close.

Like his brother André Bogoliobski, Vsevolod III., during his last days, experienced a check from a southern prince, Mstislav Mstislavitch the Bold. The latter saw that Vsevolod harassed the Novgorodians, came to their rescue, and forced Vsevolod to renounce his attempts to subdue Novgorod.

Vsevolod Youreevitch died in 1212. History has given him the surname of 'The Great.' Like Bogoliobski, Vsevolod aimed at introducing in Russia supreme power invested in one individual.

In popular tradition Vsevolod III. has obtained the more familiar surname of 'With the large nest,' *i.e.* father of a numerous family.

Vsevolod was twice married, first to Mary (subsequently Marfa in the monastic state), daughter of a Bohemian Prince, Schwarn, and then to a Russian Princess, Lioobov (Anna), daughter of Vasilko Briatscheslavitch of Polotsk.

Vsevolod's sons were Constantine, George, Yaroslav, Vladimir, Sviatoslav, John, Dmitri, Boris, and Gliéb. The two latter died in childhood.

Vsevolod's daughter Verhooslava, or Antonina, married Rostislav Rurikovitch of Kiev.

CHAPTER XV

EVENTS SUBSEQUENT TO THE DEATH OF VSEVOLOD III. AND BEFORE THE INVASION OF THE TARTARS, 1212-1224

VSEVOLOD III. was doomed during his latter days to experience sorrow from his own son. While living at Vladimir, Vsevolod sent his eldest son Constantine to administer Rostov. Vsevolod, however, shortly before his death, made a testament to the effect that when Constantine became Grand Prince, he should remove to Vladimir and remit Kostov to the second son, George or Youree. But Constantine was displeased with this arrangement, and demanded of his

father both Vladimir and Rostov. Vsevolod, highly incensed, deprived Constantine of his principality and gave it to Youree. Then the old Prince died (1212).

But Constantine Vsevolodovitch could in nowise become reconciled to the idea of his rights being transferred to a younger brother; so, immediately after their father's decease, civil discord broke out between the two young princes. At first their disagreement was manifested by insignificant acts, until a southern prince took part in the quarrel. He was none other than the celebrated Mstislav Mstislavitch 'the Bold' of Toropetz (in the present government of Pskov); and this he again did on account of Novgorod. But Constantine and Youree Vsevolodovitchi had a third brother, Yaroslav, reigning in Periaslavl Zaltieski. Yaroslav was the most energetic and enterprising of all Vsevolod's sons, and never lost an opportunity to augment his possessions. The Novgorodians summoned him to reign over them, and he wished to render his power there permanent. He therefore quitted Novgorod and went to Torjok (government of Tver); thence he allowed no provisions to be conveyed to Novgorod, so that famine began there. In vain the Novgorodians begged him to return to them. He paid no attention to their requests, and detained Novgorodian Boyards and merchants. At this time Mstislav 'the Bold' came to Novgorod. He then summoned the popular assembly (Vietsche), in which he declared that Novgorod should exist without Torjok, and Torjok without Novgorod. The Novgorodians and Mstislav next kissed the cross before each other, and took a solemn oath to remain inseparable till death. They thereupon marched against Yaroslav. The latter, at this turn of events, went towards the east. In the quarrel between the elder sons of Vsevolod, Yaroslav had taken the part of his brother Youree against Constantine. Yaroslav and Youree were again allies, and Mstislav took the side of Constantine. On the river Lipetz a battle was fought. Mstislav gained the victory, forced Youree to renounce the rights of seniority and Vladimir, and there established Constantine as Grand Prince. But Constantine did not long reign. He died in 1219. So Youree once more received the rights of the eldest son and reigned in Vladimir. Constantine's children held the administration of Rostov.

Constantine married Agafia, granddaughter of Roman of Smolensk. The sons of Constantine were Vasilko, Vsevolod, and Vladimir-Dmitri.

Youree II. (Vsevolodovitch) carried on successful war with the Bulgarians and the Mordvi. In the territories of the latter people he extended the boundaries of his own possessions to the spot where the Oka joins the Volga. In that direction Youree founded the town of Nijni-Novgorod (1220).

At the same time, while in the north-east Russian territory was enlarged at

the cost of barbarians, at the south-west it became necessary to defend the ancient Russian province of Galicia from foreigners. The Hungarians seized Galicia, and began to harass the Russo-Greek religion. But there, as everywhere, if help was needed, appeared Mstislav Mstislavitch 'the Bold.' He expelled the Hungarians, and himself began to reign in Galicia. He gave his daughter in marriage to Daniel Romanovitch, who had grown up amid misfortunes and oppression, but who, notwithstanding, was fortified mentally and physically by these untoward circumstances, and promised to follow in the footsteps of his father and grandfather. But the Boyards of Galicia did not wish a prince like Daniel. They accordingly persuaded Mstislav to marry another daughter to the hereditary Prince of Hungary, and to give him Galicia. In the remaining provinces of Southern Russia tranquillity reigned. The Monomachovitchi and the Olgovitchi had for a time ceased their quarrels, when, in 1224, the Polovtsi brought news to Kiev that unknown formidable enemies were advancing against Russia, *i.e.* the Tartars.

First appearance of the Tartars in Russia, 1224. Youree II. killed in battle at the river Leetee, 4th March 1238.

Youree II. fell in battle at the river Leetee (a tributary of the Mologa, another tributary of the Volga). That battle was fought with the Tartars, 4th March 1238.

Youree's consort was Agafia, daughter of Vsevolod 'Tscherمني,' *i.e.* 'Rufus' of Tscherneegov. The sons of Youree were Vsevolod, Vladimir, and Mstislav. Youree's daughter, Dobravia or Helena, married Vasilko Romanovitch of Galicia. Another daughter of Youree was named Theodosia, while a third perished at the siege of Vladimir during the second invasion of the Tartars (1238).

CHAPTER XVI

INTERNAL CONDITION OF RUSSIA DURING THE SECOND PERIOD OF ITS HISTORY,
1054-1224—1237-1238

IF we compare the information of annals concerning the condition of Slavonian races from the middle of the ninth century, with the circumstances which occurred in Russia during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we are principally struck by an important fact, namely, that the Slavonians had gradually formed into one people. The names of separate tribes had meanwhile disappeared. We no longer meet with the designations of Poliani, Drevliens, Severiani, Krivitchi, Meri, etc. The possessions of these tribes had become districts, named from their chief towns—Kiev, Vladimir, Tscherneegov, Smolensk, Rostov, etc.—and all these districts, though apparently separated, were in reality united. Their inhabitants

felt that they lived in one Russian state, although, strictly speaking, the name of Russia specially signified the principality of Kiev.

Each district had its own prince, independent of the affairs of the interior. But these princes ruled Russian land conjointly, and, by changing their principality, advanced to seniority in the chief capital, Kiev. Consequently, all the districts were closely connected one with another. The death of the Grand Prince of Kiev was of alike importance, not only to the inhabitants of his own principality, but also to those of Tscherneegov and Smolensk. Even the distant Rostov and Novgorod were likewise affected by this event, for it occasioned changes in various principalities. Indeed, the very civil discord among the princes for the right of seniority—for the possession of Kiev—confirmed the acknowledgment of united land. For, in consequence of that discord, northern militia moved towards the south, and the southern towards the north, in spite of the great distance between Russian districts; for example, Volhynia from Rostov or Novgorod. Thus the inhabitants took part in the affairs of each other, thanks to the indivisibility of the princely race.

During the whole of this period there was, however, in Russia a total decrease of autocratic power. Its advancement was completely checked by the system of appanages—that fruitful source of evil to the state. For although Sviatoslav, Vladimir, and Yaroslav, on dividing Russia among their sons, had intended that the eldest or Grand Prince should be chief of the dynasty, and that other princes should depend on him as allies and distinguished servants, the system of divided power was, notwithstanding, productive of immense evil. Ambition, hatred, revenge, kindled incessant civil war among the appanaged princes, and armed them even against the Grand Prince himself.

In this wise the strength of Russia was enfeebled, and the country suffered from constant struggles. Unity of the people had disappeared; patriotism had diminished; different principalities and towns cherished hatred to each other. Of all these evils the natural consequences were that during the whole of this period disorder, revolt, and bloodshed prevailed.

RIGHT OF INHERITANCE TO THE THRONE—ALLIES—OUTWARD ENEMIES

The misery thus produced in Russia by the system of appanages was still more increased by indefinite right of inheritance to the throne. Sometimes a deceased prince was succeeded by his son, and sometimes by his brother. Hence ensued disagreement and quarrels among the other princes, such as the deadly feud between the posterity of Oleg and of 'Monomach,' so disastrous to Russia. It is accordingly not extraordinary that the country, being torn to pieces by

intestine discord, at length fell a prey to outward enemies. Such were the Petchenègues, the Bulgarians, the Polovtsi, the knights of Livonia. But at this epoch Providence was merciful towards Russia by granting it not a few able, valiant, magnanimous sovereigns, who saved their native country from ruin.

The allies, and also sometimes the enemies, of Russia at this period were the Poles, the Hungarians, the Berendei, and the Torki.

DIETS OF PRINCES

The magnanimous and subsequently famous patriot, Vladimir 'Monomach,' on witnessing the constant civil discord and bloodshed in Russia, thought to eradicate these evils, or at all events to lessen them, by so-called 'Diets of Princes.'

In these diets, princes took general affairs into consideration; or they swore to forget personal resentment and to think merely of the general good. But the beneficial effects of the diets were, unfortunately, not permanent, for the princes too frequently forgot their oaths. Thus civil discord and civil war again ensued.

RANK OF PRINCE

The rank of prince in ancient Russia belonged only to the posterity of Rurik, and was taken from it in no circumstances whatsoever. The eldest of the dynasty bore the title of Grand Prince. According to annals, the Prince was destined to rule and govern, to maintain order in the country, to regulate the affairs of the military, and to administer justice. The Grand Prince was generally commander of the forces in war, and the principal judge in time of peace. He punished criminals; his court was the place of judgment; his servants were the executors of his decrees; the prince collected tribute from the inhabitants of his district; besides, in his favour there were duties levied on certain articles of trade; he also received fines inflicted in judicial affairs; finally, a large part of the prince's revenue came from land peopled by slaves. On that land princes built palaces, in which were stores of all necessary for their household, such as honey, wine, copper, iron, etc. The ground also yielded many productions, which allowed the prince constantly to entertain his militia, the clergy, and sometimes even the whole inhabitants of towns.

THE MILITIA AND ARMIES

In ancient Russia the Grand Prince was surrounded by militia, with whom he sat in council, went to war, collected tribute, hunted and feasted. From

members of the militia the prince nominated administrators of towns, or 'Posādniks,' as they were called; 'Voevodes,' or commanders, for the armies of towns, *i.e.* 'Teesiatski'; overseers, or Tioons, for various affairs. According to the ideas of the times, a good prince spared nothing on his militia, but spent all he received on it, and made no provision for himself; because, if surrounded by brave devoted followers, he could not be poor. In the prince's service a militiaman lived well. He was a councillor, received abundant maintenance, pecuniary remuneration, and an advantageous position. However, if the militiaman was displeased with anything, he was at liberty to change the service of one prince for another. That was not considered treachery, as the princes ruled Russian land conjointly. Being thus attached to no particular prince, the militiaman was also attached to no special principality, but in service which pleased him accompanied the prince from one principality to another. That constant movement did not allow the militiaman to become powerful as a wealthy, permanent proprietor of land. 'Posādniks' and overseers of districts and towns could also not become formidable; because, from the very commencement, the posterity of Rurik multiplied so fast that all considerable towns and districts were administered by princes themselves, and not by 'Posādniks.'

At first, during the time of the earlier Russian princes, their militia was chiefly formed of Varyagheans (Normans), but latterly it was formed of native soldiers, although any foreigner known for bravery was freely admitted into Russian militia. The militia was chiefly divided into the elder and the younger. The elder, or Boyards, were principally the councillors of the Grand Prince. The younger militia—young in years and in exploits—were called 'The Greedi—the Greedba.' The personal servants of the prince also formed part of the militia. Such were the 'Otroki, Dietski, Pasinki, and Dvoriani.' Armies were composed of the militia and of regiments formed of the remaining part of the population in towns and villages. The forces were divided into cavalry and infantry, and consisted of five different parts—the great army, two wings (right and left), the van, and rearguard, whose duty it was to watch the enemy.

From the reign of André Bogolioobski, 1157-1169-1174, the militia began to be denominated 'The Court,' and all belonging to it were entitled 'courtiers.' These 'courtiers' formed the chief part of the Grand Prince's troops. They were composed of poor nobles and their followers. When any expedition concluded, arms were taken from the warriors. 'Pike-bearers and archers' also formed part of the troops. Arms for taking towns or fortified places were battering-rams.

TOWNS

Towns were in reality large fortified spots, built for defence against the enemy. In case of sudden attack from outward foes, all the neighbouring population, with families and movable property, took refuge in towns. In the town itself lived the prince or his 'Posādnik,' surrounded by the militia. Near the town wall lived tradesmen, at first, of course, those chiefly necessary for the militia, such as workmen able to make armour, etc. Then it also happened that if the town occupied a good position near a large river, in the way of trade, the number of inhabitants and their wealth increased. Such, for example, were the towns of Kiev, Novgorod, Polotsk, Smolensk, etc. But the inhabitants near other smaller towns were chiefly occupied with agriculture. Towns were rarely surrounded by stone walls. The latter were more frequently made of wood. When a prince undertook any important enterprise, he also summoned the elders of the town along with the militia. Such was the case during the time of the earlier princes. But after Yaroslav I., we remark that princes used to summon all the inhabitants of towns to a popular assembly or Vietsche to decide any undertaking, such, for example, as a military enterprise, which the citizens approved or disapproved. The peculiar signification of these popular assemblies was particularly felt during civil discord, when the citizens obtained the power of choosing a sovereign among several rival princes, and chose the prince most congenial to their taste. The power of the popular assembly also depended on the number and wealth of the citizens. The most influential popular assemblies were at Kiev, Novgorod, Polotsk, Smolensk, and Rostov. Smaller towns or suburbs had no popular assembly, and submitted to the decision given in the assembly of larger towns. The 'Vietsche' was peculiarly powerful in Great Novgorod—from the number and wealth of the citizens—because there princes were frequently changed in consequence of discord in the south, and the Novgorodians could choose a prince from among a great many. Finally, because, as the chief scene of action was in the south, the princes carried on the principal struggle in Kiev and its surrounding towns. Accordingly the Novgorodians could, without danger, change their princes or conclude treaties with them. The princes, occupied in the south, had neither the means nor the inclination to go with forces to distant Novgorod, and oblige its inhabitants to do their bidding. At the north-east the only large old town which had a 'Vietsche' was Rostov. Its power, however, fell during the time of Youree Dolgorooki's sons. Subsequently there remained only smaller towns which had not a previous 'Vietsche.' There, too, nothing was yet heard of an assembly in which the citizens made

conditions with the prince. The inhabitants of towns were divided into tenth parts under command of a 'Desiatski,' *i.e.* a tithing man. The 'Desiatski' depended on centurions, or commanders of a hundred, and they again were subject to the Teesiatski or Voevodes of towns.

TRADE

At this epoch trade was considerable in Russia. Greek vessels came to Kiev by the Dnieper. In fact, that river, from Kiev to the mouth of the stream, was specially named 'The Greek Way.' The Russians exchanged valuable furs and other productions of their country for cotton and silk manufactures of the East. In Kiev merchants of many nations were to be found—Greeks, Armenians, Germans, Venetians, Moravians, Jews, etc. Another direction for Russian trade was the Volga, by which the Bulgarians imported to Russia corn, different kinds of leather, and other articles of Eastern countries. Novgorod carried on trade in the north. It collected tribute from the Yougorski countries (the part of Siberia near Russia). That tribute consisted of silver and fur. Novgorod, likewise, sent its vessels to Denmark and Lubeck. German and Dutch merchants lived in Novgorod, and were called 'Gosti,' or 'merchant guests.' The latter had the rights of citizenship, considerable privileges, and the free exercise of their own religion.

Finally, during the twelfth century, Novgorod joined the famous 'Hanseatic League,' and soon became one of its important members. Smolensk carried on trade with Riga, Holland, and the northern German towns. Polotsk, too, was a commercial Russian city. The wealth of Russian towns was at this epoch remarkable by the number of sumptuous churches, then the only public buildings of cities. The extensive trade of this epoch doubtless also augmented metal in Russia; but the coining of Russian money was at a later period.

RURAL POPULATION

Villages were populated either by free tillers of the soil or by domestics. Slaves belonged to proprietors of land. Free inhabitants of villages were governed by their 'starosta' or bailiff.

LEGISLATION

The chief duty of princes was the administration of justice. Accordingly, their principal care was to regulate the affairs of their district, in council with the militia, the starosts of towns, and bishops. To Yaroslav I. is due the important act of forming a code of laws known as the 'Rooskaia Pravda' (Russian truth, right). The very first lines of Yaroslav's celebrated code show a newly formed state, in which were distinct traces of former times, when each tribe lived apart.

For example, according to Yaroslav's code, a murderer was not punished by Government, but by the nearest relative of the deceased. A brother was to avenge the death of a brother, a son that of a father, a father that of a son, an uncle that of a nephew. If the deceased left no near relatives to avenge him, then the murderer paid a pecuniary fine called 'vir' to the prince—for a common man twice as little as for a militiaman, or servant of a prince; for a woman, a half less than for a man. However, Iziaslav I., son of Yaroslav, altered some laws of the 'Rooskaia Pravda' by abolishing capital punishment and by depriving near relatives of the power to avenge the death of a murdered kinsman. The murderer was obliged merely to pay a pecuniary fine. If no positive proof of the crime could be found, recourse was had to ordeals of iron, of water, of fire, and judicial duels were also fought.

Besides these laws in use, appanaged princes in their own districts issued various private regulations and statutes.

THE CHURCH

From the first introduction of Christianity, it powerfully contributed to civilise the people. This was peculiarly the case in the south, but less so in the north and north-east, where heathen superstitions not only still continued, but where the preachers of the new religion not unfrequently met a martyr's death. Such was the case with Saint Leontius at Rostov and Saint Kooksha among the Viatitché. Magicians then appeared and excited the people against Christianity, making use of a physical calamity—famine—as a proof in favour of their arguments. On one occasion a magician came to Novgorod, and there began to persuade the people that he knew everything—that he could walk on water as on dry ground, etc. The multitude believed him; and when the bishop came to an open part of the city with the cross in his hand, only the prince and the militia were on the bishop's side; all the others had joined that of the magician. The bishop was saved from a violent death merely by the courage and decision of the prince. The latter killed the magician with the blow of an axe, and the people, on seeing that the old gods could not defend their votary, dispersed. Thus Christianity outwardly triumphed; but its progress was yet slow in many remote spots where superstition still prevailed.

The Church in Russia still depended on the Patriarch of Constantinople, who nominated metropolitans and decided other Church affairs. Most of the metropolitans were Greeks, few were Russians; but among the latter was Ilarion during the reign of Yaroslav I. Ilarion had been nominated by an assembly of Russian bishops, with the Patriarch's intervention.

During the reign of Iziaslav Mstislavitch there was Clement, likewise chosen in Russia, without the Patriarch. Some bishops, however, did not agree to Clement's nomination. After this attempt the Patriarchs still continued to send metropolitans to Kiev from Constantinople, but with the Grand Prince's consent. The metropolitans also sent bishops to various districts with the consent of princes there. The Novgorodians chose their archbishop by lot. To maintain the principal churches, or those which were favourites, as also for the support of the archbishop's house, some princes gave the tenth part of their property (*desiateen*), together with villages, and sometimes whole towns.

At this epoch the Russian clergy were often present in councils of princes and in popular assemblies, and these were frequently the mediators between princes and the people. Indeed, clerical dignitaries endeavoured to perform the important duties of their calling; and while submitting to princes, did not hesitate to tell them the truth, to turn them aside from vice, to become interceders for humanity and defenders of the oppressed.

In order to spread Christianity, it became necessary to witness its beneficial effects on others. Many monks had this effect on the public mind, particularly those of the Kiev-Petscherski cloister. The founder of the monastery was Saint Anthony, a native of the town of Livoketch. He had visited Mount Athos, there took the vows of a recluse, and on returning to his own country established himself in Kiev in a catacomb on the banks of the Dnieper. This was during the reign of Iziaslav Yaroslavitch. The report of Saint Anthony's holy life soon attracted a fraternity around him. Its most remarkable member was Saint Theodosius, who in early youth quitted a wealthy paternal home in order to lead an ascetic, monastic life. Saint Theodosius was the friend of all the unhappy. He tended the sick in his own cell, and wrote admonitions for monks and princes. At night he went to dispute with Jews, and was distinguished by his great humility.

Besides Saints Anthony and Theodosius, the Kiev-Petscherski monastery furnished not a few celebrated preachers of Christianity as well as bishops and annalists. One Prince of Tscherneegov—Sviatoslav Davidovitch—also entered the Petscherski cloister. There he was a doorkeeper, hewed wood, and served at the table of the fraternity.

For the support of monasteries, even at that remote epoch, they possessed immovable property. An original document of the Grand Prince Mstislav Vladimirovitch, 1128-1132, granting a district to the Yourievski Monastery of Novgorod, has been preserved till our own times.

GENERAL INSTRUCTION

With the progress of Christianity a desire for instruction was also felt. Many important questions presented themselves to the mind of new Russian Christians. They eagerly asked, 'Why was Christ incarnate? Why was it that, among ancient nations, the Jews only knew the true God?' During the reign of Yaroslav the Great, Ilarion, the first Russian metropolitan of Kiev, wrote on these subjects. We have also the reply of Saint Theodosius to the Grand Prince Iziaslav concerning the Romish faith. Amongst the admonitions written for princes, the most remarkable are those of the metropolitan Nicephorus to Vladimir Monomach, from which we know many details regarding the private life of that remarkable prince. The admonitions of bishops to their flocks were also written, such as those of Bishop Luke Yidiate of Novgorod, describing the mode of life suited for a Christian. Cyril, Bishop of Toorov, was also an eloquent man, whose sermons contain explanations of many Biblical events. From the admonitions of Saint Theodosius of Petschersk we learn details of the manners of the times. We have already mentioned the remarkable *Instructions of Vladimir Monomach to his Children*.

A love of travelling to the Holy Land had even at this early epoch been felt among Russians. A description of such a journey has been handed down to our own times; we allude to the *Travels of the Monk Daniel*. We also have the composition of another Daniel of the same epoch, or, *The Epistle of the Prisoner Daniel to Youree Dolgorooki*. The said Epistle is full of worldly wisdom of the times, collected by the author from many books.

ARTS

Different arts, such as architecture and painting, began to appear in Russia at this epoch. Greek architects built churches, and for their adornment painted images. Saint Olympius, a monk of the Kiev-Petscherski cloister, learned from the Greeks the art of painting, and is considered the most ancient of Russia's painters. The Russians also learned from the Greeks the art of embroidering with gold.

SCIENCE AND DEGREE OF CIVILISATION

Poetry has existed among all people, for each nation likes to extol the acts of heroes and the celebrated exploits of ancestors. Thus, at the remote period of which we now write, and even at an earlier epoch, poetry was known in Russia.

The most ancient historical songs and stories, handed down to our own

times, if in an altered form, narrate exploits of knights of the reign of Saint Vladimir, and of their struggles with barbarians of neighbouring steppes, which indeed then chiefly occupied the people. Subsequently, these struggles were continued by other princes, particularly Vladimir Monomach, who acquired lasting glory in the popular poetic traditions of the age. They extol his expeditions against the Polovtsi.

During the reign of Catherine II. (1795), Count Moussine Pooshkine casually discovered a strange and precious manuscript, written in 1185, and entitled *Words on Igor's Army*.

According to Professor Pogodine, ancient so-called Russian 'words' are equivalent to Scandinavian 'sagas.'

The *Words on Igor's Army* are a series of poetic narrations or epic songs concerning an unfortunate expedition of the Princes of Sieversk, Igor Sviatoslavitch and his brothers, against the Polovtsi.

By some authors Igor has, however, been very much blamed. He wished to gain fame and to obtain booty alone, so he set off without informing the other Russian princes. Thus the expedition was unsuccessful.

Notwithstanding, the wonderful bravery of Igor and his brothers, their great desire to acquire glory in struggling with neighbouring barbarians, the magnanimity which prompted the princes not to abandon poor followers in misfortune, all obtained for these heroes the love of the people. In this curious collection of epic poems are many precious details of the said campaign, of its great success at first, but its failure afterwards, and, finally, of Igor's wonderful escape from captivity, for he had been made prisoner by the Polovtsi.

Of course, incessant civil war hindered the progress of science in Russia. However, the healing art did certainly exist at this epoch. In Kiev, Armenians were famed for effecting cures. Russian monks likewise, desiring to aid human suffering, devoted much attention to this important art. A true friend of humanity was to be found in the person of Agapithus. This recluse had travelled to spots held in veneration by Christians. He had visited Mount Athos, Mount Ararat, Sinai, Horeb, etc. etc. Other monks also, like him, acquired geographical and astronomical knowledge, which they desired to communicate to their countrymen. Finally, monks rendered an important service to future generations by transcribing passing events. The name of the venerable Nestor is never to be forgotten in this respect. He was a recluse of the Kiev-Petscherski cloister. He lived during the close of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries. He possessed a love of investigation, combined with a pious mind, and attentively listened to the oral traditions of ancient times. He

conversed with the elder monks of his cloister, with the nobles of Kiev also, and read the Byzantine chronicles. In this wise he recalled the olden time, and became the 'Father of Russian history'; for Nestor was the first who wrote annals in Russ, and they again have proved of vast importance to Russian history. This was one great service he rendered his native country. Another was that he instilled into a future generation the desire to prolong his work; and, in fact, his annals were continued chiefly by Sylvester and other monks.

At this epoch the clergy were more learned than the laity. Notwithstanding, many princes and nobles were remarkable for their love of learning. Yaroslav the Great was very fond of reading books. Vladimir Monomach wrote wisely and eloquently. His father, Vsevolod I., too, spoke several foreign languages; according to Professor Pogodine, vol. i. p. 174, they probably were Norman, Greek, Finnish, Slavonian, and Polovetsk.

From the half of the eleventh century we remark that in annals there are evident traces of events described not only by contemporaries, but by eye-witnesses. Previous to that epoch circumstances had been transcribed from oral tradition. Till our own times extracts of annals, and sometimes the entire originals, have been preserved. These annals were chiefly written in Kiev, Novgorod, Volhynia, and in Polotsk, as well as in the districts of Tscherneegov, Rostov, and Souzdal. These different localities have produced a decided influence on the style of annals. For example, those of the south, such as Kiev and Volhynia, are remarkable for their liveliness and minute details of events. Not only are the acts of historical personages described, but their very words are quoted, so that we seem to hold intercourse with animated individuals. Novgorodian annals are distinguished by brevity and force. Narrations in Souzdal annals are dry, without the power of Novgorodian expressions, prolix, and devoid of the artistic style distinguishing language in the south.

MORALS AND CHARACTER OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

The Russians of this epoch were famed for piety. Wealthy individuals built churches or monasteries in which they themselves often sought a retreat from the world. Notwithstanding, in spite of this remarkable piety, the Russian people, at the period of which we now write, had also an essentially warlike spirit. Princes and Boyards showed a manly, intrepid disposition. Their children were educated in military camps, boldly marched against the enemy, conquered or died gloriously. The traces of knightly institutions existing in Western Europe were at this time also perceptible in Russia. During the reign of

Vsevolod III. (1176-1212) originated the so-called postreegee (from *postreegat*, to shear). This consisted in cutting a young prince's hair for the first time. The child was conducted to church, there received the bishop's blessing, and was afterwards placed on horseback, in presence of the nobles and citizens. The young prince might then be elected to govern a district or principality. Karamzine thinks that the custom was a remnant of heathen times.

But at this epoch, notwithstanding all the piety of the Russians, many of their actions still bore traces of treachery and inhumanity. These originated in the spirit of the times, and from circumstances, especially constant inward and outward war, which hardened the mind and heart.

CHAPTER XVII

EXTRACT FROM YAROSLAVNA'S LAMENT: 'WORDS ON IGOR'S ARMY'

THE 'Lament of Euphrosine Yaroslavna' was on account of her consort, Igor Sviatoslavitch, Prince of Sieversk, made prisoner by the Polovtsi during an unsuccessful expedition against that barbarous people. Euphrosine was the second wife of Igor, the hero of the poem, and daughter of a famous Prince of Galicia, Yaroslav Osmosmuisl, *i.e.* 'eight thoughts,' making allusion to his acknowledged talents. In song, Euphrosine is simply named Yaroslavna, or daughter of Yaroslav. She was staying at the town of Pooteevle (present government of Koursk), the appanage town of her son Vladimir, during Igor's expedition against the Polovtsi.

Sviatoslav Vsevolodovitch, Grand Prince of Kiev, mentioned in the poem, was Igor's cousin, who in 1184 had marched against the Polovtsi, completely defeated them, and made their chief, Kobiak, prisoner.

'YAROSLAVNA'S LAMENT'

'Fair Yaroslavna's plaints resound
Near old Pooteevle's city wall.
The unseen swallows soar around,
Nor pause to listen to her call.

"Ye happy birds ! like you, I'd flee
Beyond the Danube's rippling wave.
I'd dip my fur-trimmed sleeve in thee,
Karalé's¹ stream, where fight the brave.

¹ Now named Kagalnik, a tributary of the Don.

"For there brave Igor wounded lies,
Perchance insulted by the foe ;
Perchance he at this moment dies,
And knows not of my bitter woe.

"Could I but lessen all his pain,
Or wipe the trickling blood away,
I'd strive yon distant land to gain,
And then my joy !—what words can say !"

At early morn a form appears,
Near old Pooteevle's city wall ;
And Yaroslavna, 'mid her tears,
In plaintive tone is heard to call—

"Ye whispering winds of heaven, that swell
The sails of ships upon the sea,
Your light wings haste this grief to tell ;
Why have ye borne this woe to me ?

"Why did ye guide the khan's fell dart
Towards Igor and his troops so brave.
See ye not how his red wounds smart ?
And none to pity ! none to save !

"'Tis not enough that by your power
The tempest rages on the main ;
That waves, like cloud-capped mountains, tower,
And storms re-echo through the plain.

"Ye envious winds ! could ye not dwell,
Alone, upon the dark blue sea ?
Why did ye whistle through the dell,
And snatch my joy, like flowers, from me ?"

At early morn a form appears,
Near old Pooteevle's city wall ;
And Yaroslavna, 'mid her tears,
In plaintive tone is heard to call—

"O Dnieper ! fair, fleet-flowing stream,
That waters the Polovtsi's land,
Why did ye lure our knights to dream
Of that unfriendly distant strand ?

"Entice brave Igor back again,
Beseech him to return to me ;
Lest my salt tears fall fast as rain
That's lost in yonder boundless sea.

"Upon thy rippling, glassy waves
Sviatoslav's boats have floated far,
To Kobiak's land, where thousand slaves
Proclaim the misery of war !"

At early morn a form appears,
Near old Pooteevle's city wall ;
And Yaroslavna, 'mid her tears,
In plaintive tone is heard to call—

"All hail ! thou glorious, brilliant sun,
The source of life and warmth and light ;
Ere yet thy daily course is run,
Thou shinest forth in radiance bright.

"Yet why emit thy scorching ray
On our brave warriors, fighting far ?
On arid fields they pine away ;
They perish in this bloody war.

"Why did ye dry the tightened cord
Within the stiffly bended bow,
And scorch the quiver's well-filled hoard
Of darts to strike a fatal blow ?"

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PERIOD III

THE TARTAR YOKE, 1224—1237-38—1480. THE TARTAR YOKE
CAST OFF BY IOANN III. THE GREAT, 1480

‘The Tartar yoke in Russia was watered by the tears and the blood of many succeeding generations.’—KARAMZINE.

CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

BEFORE proceeding to describe the Tartar yoke in Russia, we must premise that the dire calamity was the result of political changes and shocks, so frequent in Asia, and originating in the character and mode of life peculiar to the inhabitants of that country. Races savage and rude, but, notwithstanding, brave and warlike, directed their course from the east towards kingdoms weakened by luxury or powerless from internal agitation, conquered them at once, and therein established their sway. Hence the speedy success of arms among the ancient Thuns, Mongols, Tartars, and other savage conquerors originating from a common source.

In the boundless plains of Central Asia, from time immemorial, numerous races of Mongol and Tartar hordes had led a roving life. They were governed by their own princes and khans, and were at constant war with each other. During the second half of the twelfth century there appeared a man who united these roving Mongol hordes, and led them on against neighbouring nations. That man was Temootschin or Tschinghis (*i.e.* Great) Khan, son of a Mongol prince, Dezooka, whose horde wandered about at the source of the Amoor. Adjacent countries suffered terrible devastation, and were forced to submit to the barbarous conquerors. In fact, the Mongols by their ferocity and their invincibility inspired terror so general, that the nations of Asia considered them as an unavoidable chastisement sent from heaven itself. The inhabitants of towns and villages sometimes spontaneously bowed their necks before the blow, because already persuaded that all opposition was fruitless.

In 1224, the commanders of Tschinghis Khan's armies, after conquering the people of the Caucasus, moved northwards, and began to attack the Polovtsi. It is thus that Russian annalists describe the new invaders: 'For the punishment of our sins, an unknown race has come against us. No one knows well who the people are, whence they come, to what tribe they belong, and what is their religion. They are called Tartars. Some name them Tavormen, and others say they are Petchenègues, but God alone knows them, and perhaps also learned persons who read books.'

Kotian, Khan of the Polovtsi, and father-in-law of Mstislav the Bold (who then reigned in Galicia), resolved to apply to the Princes of Russia for help. 'To-day they will take our land, and to-morrow yours, if you do not aid,' said Kotian. Mstislav the Bold then summoned a diet of princes in Kiev, and urged his kinsmen to march together against the unknown invaders, before they entered and devastated Russian territory. A powerful force was soon under command of the three chief princes of the south, all named Mstislav, *i.e.* Mstislav the Bold of Galicia, Mstislav the Good of Kiev, Mstislav of Tscherneegov. Karamzine mentions a fourth, Mstislav the Dumb of Polhynia, who also joined the united armies.

The Russians crossed the Dnieper, dispersed the Tartar vanguard, and advanced far into the Steppes. On the banks of a rivulet named Kalka¹ (which falls into the Sea of Azoph) the Russians met the chief Tartar force, but unfortunately 'the old Slavonian vice of civil discord' again existed among the Russian commanders, and Mstislav the Bold, without informing his allies, began a battle. In spite of the bravery of the Russians, particularly Daniel Romanovitch of Volhynia, they were completely defeated, and only a very few succeeded in reaching the Dnieper. The Polovtsi, who were along with the Russians, were the first to take flight, and thus ensured the victory of the Tartars. The rout was frightful, such as had never hitherto been seen in Russia. Eight princes and seventy knights fell on the battlefield.

Mstislav of Kiev, on seeing the flight of the Polovtsi and the Galicians, fortified his position, along with his militia, in a valley, and for three days defended himself against the enemy. Then the Tartars proposed him free exit, and he made peace with them. But hardly had his followers from Kiev advanced, than they were treacherously betrayed and put to death. Then the Russian princes were taken prisoners. The unhappy men were next placed under boards, on which the Tartars sat down to dine, and the louder the bones of the prisoners cracked, the

1224—Battle
at the river
Kalka.

¹ Now called Kaletz, in the present government of Ekaterinoslav, near Mariopol.

greater were the shouts of laughter of the fierce barbarians. The Russian princes thus perished stifled.

On this occasion, however, the Tartars were content with one victory alone, and afterwards retreated to Central Asia. Meanwhile, thirteen years passed away. The Russian princes were again engaged in their endless disputes, and had nearly forgotten the defeat at the Kalka and the terrible Tartars.

Besides, at that epoch, Russia was afflicted with various physical calamities, which agitated the public mind. Such were failure of crops which caused famine, great fires in woods, thick mist and pestilential epidemics. Moreover, the appearance of a comet with a long tail was, as usual, considered a threatening prognostic of new misfortunes.

CHAPTER II

INVASION OF BATI, 1237

1237—In
vasion of
Bati.

AFTER the death of Temootschin, his vast empire was divided among his sons, and Oogedei (Oktai), the eldest of them, became Chief Khan of all the hordes. The country towards the east, from the Ural to the Caspian Sea, fell to the lot of his nephew Bati, son of Djootsch. But it was previously necessary to conquer that country. Bati crossed over to the right bank of the Ural, with some hundred thousand followers from the Steppes. This, however, was not a force such as had appeared at the Kalka. On the present occasion, Bati was accompanied by whole nomad hordes, slowly moving onwards, with their families, carts, and flocks. All these were preceded by numerous detachments of Tartar horsemen, who devastated all on their way, while they took the inhabitants prisoners, or put them to death. After ruining the country of the Kama Bulgarians, the Tartars, during the winter of 1237, entered the principality of Riazane. In vain its princes besought aid from those of Tscherneegov, and from Youree of Vladimir. The princes of Tscherneegov refused to send troops, because the inhabitants of Riazane had not been with the others at the Kalka, and the Grand Prince of Vladimir was at enmity with Riazane. Thus left to themselves, the people of Riazane gave proof of bravery. But, alas! their defence was hopeless. 'Narratives of Bati's Invasion' give glowing descriptions of prodigies performed by a Riazane knight, Evpatia Kolovrat, and the tragic end of the Princess Evpraxia, who, on hearing of her husband's death, threw herself, with her infant son in her arms, from a high tower, and perished on the spot.

After devastating the districts of Riazane, the Tartars moved onwards towards

Souzdal, and thence to Vladimir. Youree II. had meanwhile gone to the north-west to collect armies. Commanded by his sons, the inhabitants of Vladimir bravely defended themselves; but the city was stormed and burned. The family of the Grand Prince, along with the bishop and many of the citizens, shut themselves up in the Cathedral. There they partook of the Communion; and, at last, the bishop, holding aloft the Holy Cross, was dimly visible amid the thickening smoke, for the Tartars set fire to the building, and all in it perished. The invaders then dispersed among the districts of Souzdal, and during the month of February alone, in that direction, took no fewer than fourteen towns. Soon afterwards, the Grand Prince Youree II. met Bati on the banks of the Seetee (a tributary of the Mologa). There a bloody battle was fought, March 4, 1238. Youree was completely defeated, and fell in the battle. His remains were subsequently found frightfully mutilated and without the head, so that they were only recognised by his princely garments.

Battle at the
Seetee, March
4, 1238.

According to popular tradition, Youree's head was eventually found, and, during the night, became fastened to the body. For this reason the unhappy prince was esteemed a saint, and was canonised by the Russo-Greek Church. Youree's nephew Vasilko, who had also fought bravely during the battle, was taken prisoner by the Tartars, and died in torture.

A Russian princess, Agafia Vsevolodovna, daughter of Vsevolod Tschermoni (*i.e.* 'Rufus') of Tscherneegov, was the consort of Youree II. His children were Vsevolod, Vladimir, Mstislav; and three daughters, Dobravia or Ellen, who married Vasilko Romanovitch of Galicia; Theodora; and a third princess, whose name is unmentioned. She perished at the siege of Vladimir, when it was devastated by the Tartars.

These invaders next moved onwards towards Novgorod. But their progress was arrested on account of dense forests, marshes, and likewise by strange visions, according to annalists. Besides, spring was advancing, and the thaw had commenced. Bati accordingly marched towards the south-east to the Steppes of the Volga. In that direction, the heroic defence of Kozelsk (government of Kalouga) took place. For seven weeks the town held out against the attack of the barbarians, and four thousand of them perished. But at length the city was taken, all its inhabitants put to the sword, and Kozelsk was surnamed by the Tartars 'a wicked town.'

Next, the invaders disappeared in the Steppes of the Polovtsi, and the Russians hoped that the Tartars would again retire to Asia, but that hope was not realised. After subduing the country of the Polovtsi, Bati attacked Southern Russia, and devastated the principalities of Tscherneegov, Kiev, Volhynia, Galicia. There also,

as in the north, the princes did not combine their forces; but each town fought singly against the enemy.

When one of the Tartar commanders advanced to examine Kiev, he gazed long and attentively on the magnificent capital. The old city was before him, on the opposite hilly bank of the Dnieper, shining in the rays of the sun reflected on the gilded domes of numerous churches, and encircled by a white stone wall with wide towers. They had been adorned by experienced Byzantine artists.

The citizens of Kiev put the Tartar ambassadors to death, because they proposed the unconditional surrender of the town without a battle. 'When none of us remain, then all will be yours!' was the reply of the brave inhabitants of Riazane, when Bati proposed to levy tribute on themselves and on their cattle. So now, likewise, the citizens of Kiev resolved to fight till the last man fell. At that period the city of Kiev was under the sway of Daniel Romanovitch of Galicia. He went to Hungary to seek for aid, and intrusted Kiev to the care of the brave boyarine Dmitri. Oogedei's successor was Mangoo. It was he who ordered Bati to take Kiev. Soon countless hosts of Tartars encompassed the city on all sides. Annalists even declare that the citizens actually could not distinguish the sound of each other's voices from the noise of carts, the neighing of horses, and the lowing of the enemy's camels. The Tartars forthwith commenced an attack, and, in spite of an heroic defence, burst into the town towards evening. During the night the citizens had made a fortified position at the Desiatine Church (founded by Saint Vladimir). But, on the following day, that last refuge was destroyed. Most of the citizens were then put to death, and the magnificent capital was reduced to a heap of ruins. While the battle raged, Dmitri had been wounded and taken prisoner. But Bati granted him life, from admiration of bravery, even in an enemy. Then the glory of 'the Mother of Russian towns' disappeared, and henceforth we only see a shadow of its former greatness.

The Tartars next wended their way towards Hungary and Poland. But in Moravia, for the first time, they were defeated, because opposed by powerful Austrian and Bohemian forces. About this epoch, the Great Khan Oogedei (Octai) died, and Bati turned backwards. He went to the Steppes of the Volga. Adjacent Russia was forced to acknowledge his sway, and to pay him tribute. Henceforth, southern Russian provinces, laid waste by Bati, finally disappeared from the scene of history, and Russian life was concentrated in the north.

CHAPTER III

THE GOLDEN HORDE

THE Tartars of Bati, along with their nomad followers, occupied all the southern and eastern Steppes of Russia, and, for the greater part, turned them into desolate wastes. They formed a new kingdom, known by the name of the Golden, or Kiptschaksk Horde, extending from the Ural to the lower Danube. The chief force was concentrated on the banks of the Volga. On the Volga branch of the Achtooba, Bati built the town of Sarai. There the Kiptschaksk Khans began to live, surrounded by a pompous court and numerous forces. In the remaining Steppes, the Tartars distributed smaller hordes, and roved about with the remnant of the Polovtsi, the Petchenègues, and their other predecessors. Over these hordes were placed 'Temniki,' or Voevodes, whose duty it was to guard the boundaries of Kiptschak, and to keep conquered people in subjection.

An Italian monk, Plano Carpini, a former ambassador of the Pope, thus describes the dwelling-place and customs of the Tartars:—

'When it was necessary to go to Bati's court, we were told that we must pass between two fires. But to that we in no wise wished to agree. The Tartars, however, replied: "Pass boldly onwards. It is only because if you have any evil designs against us or our sovereign, or if you carry poison, fire destroys every evil."—"If so, we are ready to go," we answered, "in order not to be suspected!" To deliver presents, we were conducted to the Khan's tent. We were previously obliged to bow, and to hear another warning not to step on the threshold. When we entered the tent, we pronounced our speech while kneeling, and then we delivered documents.

'Bati lives magnificently. He has doorkeepers and all sorts of functionaries like those of an Emperor. The Khan sits on a high seat or throne, along with one of his wives. Other persons surrounding him, such as his brothers, sons, and nobles, sit lower on a bench. The rest are on the floor, men on the right side, and women on the left. Near the entrance is placed a table, and on it drink, put in gold and silver cups. Bati and all Tartar princes, especially when assembled together, do not drink otherwise than during the singing of songs, or the playing of stringed instruments. When the Khan goes out, a shield, or small tent stretched on poles, is always carried above his head, to shade him from the sun. Thus do all distinguished Tartar princes, and even their wives.'

Bati ordered all the Russian princes to appear at the Horde, in order to testify

their subjection to him. Those who disobeyed this order were threatened with the loss of their districts. Only a few refused to do the Khan's bidding. In the traces of the Souzdal princes appeared those of Riazane, Tscherneegov, Sieversk, etc. etc., and were presented to the Tartar sovereign amid sundry humiliating rites. For example, it was necessary to pass between sacred fires, lighted near the Khan's tent, to bow down before heathen idols, to kneel, to drink milk of wild mares of the Steppes, etc. A pious Russian prince, Michael of Tscherneegov, did not wish to bow down before heathen idols; and, on this account, suffered a martyr's death at the Horde, along with his boyarine (nobleman) Feodor.

Karamzine gives a touching description of this terrible scene. Prince Michael's heart was dragged out while he was yet alive, and then his body was cut into little pieces. So also was that of the boyarine Feodor. Their mutilated remains were next day cast out to be consumed by dogs, but some faithful attendants of Michael and Feodor secretly collected these shattered remains and brought them to Moscow, where they were interred with all due honour, in the Archangel Cathedral of the Kreml. These tombs, among many others of ancient Russian princes, are still in perfect preservation.

The Russo-Greek Church has canonised Michael and Feodor. Their name's-day is on February 14. Their martyrdom took place in 1244. According to popular tradition, the mutilated bodies of Michael and Feodor once more assumed their usual appearance. A mysterious pillar of light was seen above them, and heavenly music was heard to resound.

The dependence of Russia on the Tartars chiefly consisted in paying tribute. It was at first paid to Eastern merchants, who collected it with great cruelty under protection of the Khan's functionaries, 'Baskaks,' and a large detachment of Tartar warriors. Such was the case during the first and the very worst period of the Mongol yoke. But during the fourteenth century the Grand Princes themselves began to collect tribute, and to send it to the Horde. Besides tribute, the Russian princes were, at the first demand, obliged to unite their troops to those of the Khan, and to march against his enemies. Meanwhile, the Tartars did not violate the already existing political system in Russia. The country was, as hitherto, governed by its own princes. The latter, however, were confirmed in their possessions by the Khan's document (yarleek), in order to obtain which the princes were generally obliged to travel to the Horde. There they distributed many presents among the Khan's wives and favourites. The Russo-Greek Church also remained inviolate during the Tartar yoke; and the Khans even excluded the Russian clergy from paying poll-tax. The Tartars were in general tolerant concerning religion. At this period, they themselves were still heathens, but soon the religion of Mohammed spread among them.

February 14,
1244—Mar-
tyrdom of
Saints Michael
and Feodor.

The dynasty of Djootsch reigned at the Golden Horde till the close of the fourteenth century. At first, that Horde depended on the Great Khan, living in Central Asia. But the vast empire of Tschinghis-Khan was eventually divided into separate states; and the Kiptschaksk Khan became one of the most powerful of the Mongol sovereigns. After Bati's death, 1255, concord existed but a short time, even in the dynasty of Djootsch. The usual disputes for the throne took place, and these finally caused the division and fall of the Kiptschaksk kingdom. The first example of defection and of civil war was given by Nogai, who ruled over the western hordes at the close of the thirteenth century; but, after his death, the Nogai Tartars again joined those of Sarai, and, during the reign of Uzbek, 1313-1340, the Golden Horde attained the highest degree of its magnificence and power. ^{Bati's death, 1255.}

With the fall of Kiev, political union between the north-east and the south-west of Russia had nearly ceased. Subsequently, the history of each principality took a separate direction.

CHAPTER IV

REIGN OF YAROSLAV II. (VSEVOLODOVITCH), 1238-1246

FORTUNATELY for Russia, after Bati's invasion, the most energetic, active, and courageous of all Vsevolod's sons yet remained alive. We allude to Yaroslav II. On hearing of his brother's death, Yaroslav hastened to Vladimir, in order to claim the rights of Grand Prince. He everywhere saw towns in ruins, and heaps of dead bodies. Notwithstanding, he did not yield to despair. On the contrary, he displayed energy worthy of an able sovereign. A considerable part of the population had taken refuge in forests and caves. The Grand Prince summoned the scattered inhabitants to assemble, buried the dead lying all around, rebuilt towns on their ruins, and even amid these arduous occupations rendered himself famous by a successful enterprise against the Lithuanians; for they, profiting by the misfortunes of Russia, had invaded Smolensk.

As for opposing the Tartars, there could no longer be any question of that. Yaroslav thus only thought of means whereby to save Russia from new incursions. In other words, the Russian Grand Prince submitted to the Khan, and was even the first to give this example. In return for so doing, Yaroslav's right of seniority among the princes of Russia was confirmed. At that epoch, Bati's camp was pitched on the banks of the Volga. According to the Khan's demands, Yaroslav undertook a distant journey to the interior of the Mongol Steppes, at the source

of the Amoor, in order to do homage to the Great Khan Gaivok, and while on that toilsome road the Russian Grand Prince died (1246).

Meanwhile, the remaining princes of Russia, even amid all the misfortunes of their country, could not forget their own personal enmity, prompted by ambition. In the south, civil war again broke out between the Princes of Kiev and Galicia.

Historians mention three consorts of Yaroslav II.—Youria, Princess of Polotsk; Rostislava (Theodosia), Euphrosine as a recluse, daughter of Mstislav the Bold of Galicia; the name of Yaroslav's third consort is unknown. Yaroslav left a numerous family. His sons were Theodore, Alexander (the never-to-be-forgotten 'Nevski'), Constantine, André, Athanasius, Daniel, Yaroslav, Basil, Michael 'the Brave'; and three daughters, Eudoxia, Julianna, and Mary.

CHAPTER V

REIGN OF SVIATOSLAV III. (GABRIEL) VSEVOLODOVITCH, 1246-1249

A DOCUMENT of the Khan confirmed Sviatoslav Vsevolodovitch in the possession of the Grand Princely throne. At the same time, while in the east the princes of Russia were forced to submit to the Khan, to go to distant Steppes in order to do him homage, to bow down before him, to make him presents, the western districts of Russia, *i.e.* Novgorod and Pskov, were exposed to dangerous attacks of no fewer than three enemies, the Swedes, the knights of Livonia, the Lithuanians. Birger, ruler of Sweden, urged by epistles from the Pope, thought to form a crusade against the Russians, in order to convert them to the Church of Rome. At this epoch, Alexander, son of Yaroslav, was reigning in Novgorod. On learning that the Swedes had approached the river Neva, Alexander, with but a small force, marched against the enemy, and on July 15, 1240, gained a great victory. Hence his surname 'Nevski.'

Beloved by the Novgorodians, Alexander, notwithstanding, could not live at peace with them, and soon afterwards left Novgorod. This was because he wished to act towards the Novgorodians as his father and grandfather had done. Meanwhile, the Germans of Livonia took Izborsk, defeated the people of Pskov, and began to rule in that region along with a traitor named Tverdilo Ivanovitch. Not content with the success obtained at Pskov, the Germans began to conquer part of the Novgorodian districts. At thirty versts from the city, no entrance was given to merchants. In these untoward circumstances, the Novgorodians again sent for Alexander Yaroslavitch. He immediately came, expelled the Germans from

1240, July
15—Victory
at the Neva.

Novgorod and Pskov, and on April 5, 1241, gained a famous victory on the ice of Lake Peipus. The action was therefore surnamed 'the Ice Battle.' The Germans were forced to conclude peace, and to renounce all their conquests. The Lithuanians, however, remained, and they in crowds had devastated the districts of Novgorod. But Alexander three times overcame these enemies.

Thus did Nevski render himself famous, even during his youth, by repulsing three dangerous enemies from the boundaries of Russia. But, after his father's death, other sadder duties remained to be performed. As we have seen, Yaroslav II. was succeeded by his brother Sviatoslav II. (Vsevolodovitch). In Alexander 'Nevski' were combined the bravery of ancient southern Russian princes with the caution and cool judgment of princes of the north. Alexander boldly fought with the Swedes, Germans, and Lithuanians, because he saw the possibility of conquering them. But he too well knew that he could in nowise oppose the Tartars; and therefore avoided in every way irritating the Khan against Russia.

Bati had meanwhile heard of 'Nevski's' exploits, and demanded submission from him. A refusal would only have subjected his country to new misfortunes; so the conqueror of the Swedes was forced to go to the Horde, and to humiliate himself before barbarians. Bati received Alexander with all possible respect, and was astonished at the noble air of the youthful hero. Different historians, in fact, mention the extreme personal beauty and attractions of Alexander 'Nevski.' So much was this the case, that one master of the Livonian order used to say: 'I have travelled far, and seen many men, but a prince like Alexander Yaroslavitch I have met nowhere.'

After the death of Yaroslav II., Alexander and his brother André went to do homage to Bati. But, during their absence, an important change had taken place. Michael, one of their younger brothers, surnamed 'Horo-breet,'¹ Prince of Moscow, thought fit to dispossess his uncle Sviatoslav of the Grand Princely throne, and to take his place. This act is all the more remarkable because it was the result of force alone, and from no right whatsoever, as he thus set at defiance previous laws of inheritance. Michael, however, soon afterwards fell in battle with the Lithuanians, before his elder brothers had returned from the Horde. There, Alexander was confirmed by the Khan in the possession of Kiev and Novgorod, with their districts. To Prince André Yaroslavitch was assigned the Grand Principality of Vladimir. As for their uncle Sviatoslav, on this occasion he was put completely aside.

The consort of Sviatoslav III. was a Princess of Moorom. They had two sons, Dmitri and Boris.

¹ This surname was evidently given to Prince Michael Yaroslavitch of Moscow on account of his personal appearance. *Horo-horiök*, a pole-cat; *breet*, to shave.

CHAPTER VI

REIGN OF ANDRÉ II. (YAROSLAVITCH), 1249-1252

ALEXANDER, however, founding his claims on the right of seniority, was displeased with this arrangement, and appealed to Bati's son Sartak, who took the part of Alexander. André, terrified by Sartak, fled to Sweden, and Alexander was proclaimed Grand Prince. André eventually returned to his own country, where he received Souzdal from his brother.

André's consort was a daughter of Daniel of Galicia. They had three sons, Youree, Michael of Nijni-Novgorod, and Vasili.

CHAPTER VII

REIGN OF ALEXANDER YAROSLAVITCH 'NEVSKI,' 1252-1263

As we have already mentioned, the heroic Alexander Nevski, who so bravely and successfully combated against western enemies, felt only too well the utter impossibility of opposing the powerful Mongol hordes. In the morselled condition of Russia at that epoch, all such resistance was indeed vain. Only unconditional submission to the conquerors could save the country from total ruin. Several times did Alexander travel to the Horde with rich gifts, and finally succeeded in gaining the favour of Bati and his successors.

When Alexander himself became Grand Prince, he constantly strove to instil patience into his subjects, and to urge their submission to the Mongols. But he did not always succeed in persuading them to do so. The Novgorodians were the first to give an example of insubordination. Even during the reign of Yaroslav II., the Tartars had taken the first census of the Russian people, in order to regulate tribute. After Bati's death, his brother Berkai ordered a second census to be made. The clergy were, however, exempt from this enumeration. At that epoch, there were in Novgorod two distinct parties—the so-called better classes, or aristocratic; and the smaller individuals, or democratic. The former agreed to the census, but the latter would in nowise consent to it. When Alexander and the better classes began to persuade the citizens to yield, the populace raised a revolt, killed the *posadnik*, or chief magistrate, accused the Grand Prince of selling the Novgorodian districts and making slaves of free citizens. Only reports of approaching powerful Tartar forces, and the threats of Alexander, obliged the people to submit. But no sooner did they do so than agitation began in other spots. Eastern merchants, who

collected tribute from the Russians, did so with great cruelty. Those who could not pay were led away as slaves; and the rich were forced to buy their freedom.

The oppressed people in several towns, Rostov, Souzdal, Vladimir, met in the popular assembly, and rose in arms against the collectors of tribute. Some of them were driven away, and others were put to death. A new invasion of Tartars was accordingly anticipated. But Alexander, for the fourth time, hastened to the Horde, and succeeded in pacifying Berkai. That, however, was the brave Nevski's last exploit. While returning homewards he died (14th November 1263). When news of his death reached Vladimir, the metropolitan, then officiating in church, turned towards the people and exclaimed: 'My dear children, know that the sun has set on Russian ground!' The people answered by unfeigned mourning and lamentation.

1263—14th
November
Death of Alex-
ander Nevsk.

Alexander Nevski was, indeed, a favourite of Nature, for in him were combined so many noble qualities—beautiful in personal appearance, distinguished in mind, of unwonted bravery, unfeigned piety. History has given him the surname of 'Great,' and the Russo-Greek Church has made him a saint. Before his decease, Alexander became a monk of 'the Sheema,' or the most austere order. He then took the name of Alexis. His remains, watered by the tears of the people, were first interred at Vladimir (November 23). But Peter the Great, desiring to place his new capital under the special protection of the saintly Alexander Nevski, removed his relics to Saint Petersburg.

Alexander, if but for a brief space, delivered Northern Russia from Tartar invasions, and the horrors of internal civil war. His exploits against the Swedes, the Germans, and Lithuanians in the west, have rendered his memory glorious in Russia, so that he may justly be considered as the most renowned of all its princes, from Monomach to Dmitri Donskoi.

Alexander's consorts were Alexandra Briatscheslava, Princess of Polotsk, and Vassa, of unknown origin. He had several sons, Basil, Dmitri, André, Daniel of Moscow, Yaroslav; and a daughter, Evdokia (pronounce Yevdokeeia).

CHAPTER VIII

REIGN OF YAROSLAV III. (PRINCE OF TVER), YAROSLAVITCH, 1263-1271

AFTER the death of the heroic Alexander Nevski, his brother Yaroslav III. (Yaroslavitch) was confirmed in the possession of the Grand Princely throne by the Khan's document. The Novgoródians also acknowledged Yaroslav's sway over them, but not till he had taken an oath to observe all their rights and privileges. Yaroslav, however, like his predecessors, eventually excited the Novgorodians

against him. But he was not inclined to leave the affair thus. He accordingly assembled forces, and sent to the Horde for aid, which was given. The Khan had already forwarded armies to Yaroslav; and Novgorod was threatened with misfortunes, when it was saved by Yaroslav's brother Vasili, Prince of Kostroma. He went to the Horde, told the Khan that the Novgorodians were in the right, and caused the Tartar troops to return. Yaroslav alone could not subdue the Novgorodians. He was therefore obliged to make peace with them on their conditions.

During the reign of Yaroslav III. (1266), the first, most galling period of the Tartar yoke in Russia passed away. In the above-mentioned year, say annalists, the Khan Kerkai died, and, subsequently, Russians were less oppressed by Tartar violence. Berkai was the first Tartar Khan who changed heathen religion for that of Mohammed.

Meanwhile, in the north-west of Russia, the Novgorodians and inhabitants of Pskov continued a struggle with the knights of Livonia. The hero of that struggle, after Nevski, was a certain Lithuanian emigrant named Dovmont, related to the celebrated Lithuanian prince Mindovg. The latter was killed. His son Voishelg, inflamed with vengeance against his father's murderers, put many of the people to death. Dovmont then fled to Russia, and was baptized at Pskov. He so gained the love of the citizens, that they proclaimed him their prince. The Pskovians were not mistaken in their choice; and, during thirty-five years, Dovmont (or Timothy in baptism) was their brave defender. He protected Pskov against the Lithuanians and the knights of Livonia. This struggle was remarkable for great cruelty and bloodshed on both sides. Dovmont took part in a celebrated expedition of the Novgorodians in Livonia, commanded by seven princes. The Russians met the German forces at Kakov (or Vesenberg), and, after a frightful battle, such as neither their fathers nor grandfathers had ever witnessed, the army of the Livonian knights was completely defeated. The Russians, however, had many slain.

Yaroslav III. (Yaroslavitch) died in 1271, while returning from the Tartar Horde.

Historians mention two consorts of this prince. One was killed at Vladimir by the Tartars. The second was Ksenia Yourievna of Tarvosk, a district of Tscherneegov-Lieversk. The sons of Yaroslav were Sviatoslav and Michael, surnamed 'The lover of his native country'—canonised by the Russo-Greek Church after suffering martyrdom at the Tartar Horde. A daughter of Yaroslav III. took the veil (1292).

1266—First, most galling period of the Tartar yoke terminated.

1268—Battle of Vesenberg.

CHAPTER IX

REIGN OF VASIL I. (YAROSLAVITCH), 1271-1276

YAROSLAV III. was succeeded by his brother Vasili Yaroslavitch, Prince of Kostroma. It was thought that Vasili would live in peace with the Novgorodians, as he had previously taken their part, and saved them from a Tartar invasion. But, to the surprise of all, Vasili began war with the Novgorodians, and demanded that they should suppress their former treaty with Yaroslav, which was very advantageous to them. Vasili, in fact, only proved that hitherto he had protected the Novgorodians, not for themselves, but merely to prevent his brother from becoming too powerful. For, at this unhappy epoch, each prince endeavoured to strengthen his own interests by weakening those of others. The usual mode of so doing was to attack Novgorod. With the help of the Tartars, Vasili succeeded in becoming Grand Prince of Novgorod, and there reigned according to his own conditions. Some historians praise the mind and virtue of Vasili, and affirm that he was much beloved by the people. In spite of these recommendations, however, he could not claim his inheritance to the throne without the Khan's consent. In order to obtain it, Vasili went to the Horde, and, on returning from it, died at Kostroma, to the great grief of the princes and people (1276). During Vasili's reign, the Tartars again took a census of the Russian population; but, on this occasion also, did not include the clergy.

Historians do not mention the consort of Vasili Yaroslavitch. He left three sons, whose names are also not recorded.

CHAPTER X

DANIEL ROMANOVITCH AND THE FATE OF SOUTHERN RUSSIA

AFTER the invasion of the Tartars in ancient Russia, the whole of its southern regions presented a pitiful appearance. Such was especially the case along the current of the Dnieper. The districts of Kiev had lost their last strength; and the ancient city itself had dwindled into a miserable little town, in which scarcely two hundred houses remained. Its suburbs had become dreary deserts, in which heaps of human skeletons were scattered all around. The Lithuanians freely roved about in these regions, and destroyed what had escaped from the Tartars; for no Russians were there to defend. The remains of the population, saved from the general carnage, had fled in various directions. Some went to the north, and

others towards the west to Galicia. Those who continued on the spot suffered terribly from the Tartar functionaries. In so great a state of oppression was the district of Tscherneegov-Lieversk after the death of Prince Michael, who suffered martyrdom at the Tartar Horde, that the principality was divided and subdivided among his posterity; and these petty districts lost their last remaining strength in endless civil discord with each other. However, in the west was a small corner, happier in condition than the regions along the Dnieper. In that corner was a Russian principality still entire, maintained by the famous Daniel Romanovitch. We allude to Galicia. But even there too, in spite of all Russia's recent misfortunes, civil discord still existed between the Monomachovitchi and the Olgovitchi. The Monomachovitch Daniel Romanovitch was obliged to struggle with the Olgovitch Rostislav, son of Michael of Tscherneegov. At the time of the Tartar, Daniel and Rostislav, with his father, had concealed themselves in Poland. But, whenever the invaders retreated, civil war once more broke out between the princes. The struggle terminated in a battle at the river Sani. There, Rostislav was defeated by Daniel, with his allies the Hungarians and Poles. Thus terminated the last civil discord between the Monomachovitchi and the Olgovitchi in south-western Russia. Daniel eventually confirmed his power and occupied the throne of Galicia. He then began to rebuild ruined towns and to assemble their scattered inhabitants. Like Polish kings, he summoned to his principality Germans, Jews, Armenians, etc., and granted them certain privileges. In this wise, Galician towns soon became essentially commercial and industrial. The mixed population, however, was foreign to that of Russia, and but feebly sustained the prince in his struggle with outward enemies.

1249—Battle
at the river
Sani.

Meanwhile, in the direction of the Volga, and from the Khan, there came a threatening summons for Daniel to appear at the Horde. Hitherto, he had been most unwilling to go there; but at length he was forced to do so. It was, notwithstanding, a humiliation to this brave prince to bow down before barbarians of the Steppes, to kneel in their presence, to drink 'koomuiees' (*i.e.* milk of wild mares). In fact, Daniel, last of all the Russian princes, was presented to the Khan. The latter exclaimed, on seeing Daniel: 'It is well that thou hast come! Dost thou drink our beverage, koomuiees?' 'Till now I have not drunk it,' replied Daniel; 'but at present, if thou wilt, I shall do so!' The Khan was delighted with Daniel, and dismissed him honourably. But that favour only seemed to Daniel like malicious irony, and all wept when, on returning home, the prince told how he had been received. 'Tartar honour is the greatest evil!' writes a southern annalist, in allusion to this circumstance. 'Unlike the northern princes, Daniel Romanovitch was one in whom feeling was more powerful than

cool judgment,' says Soloviev (page 41). The Prince of Galicia was thus oppressed by the idea of being subject to the Khan. Daniel, accordingly, eagerly desired to throw off the Tartar yoke. But, with the forces of Galicia alone, and even those of Polhynia, where reigned Daniel's brother Vasilko, that was impossible. It therefore became necessary to form alliance with some European sovereign, in order to proclaim a crusade against the Tartars, the common enemies of all Christendom. However, any alliance with Romanist States, in this projected crusade, could in nowise be formed without the Pope's consent. So Daniel appealed to Innocent iv. The Holy Father was delighted with the proposal. About 1246 he sent Daniel a kingly crown. Six or seven years afterwards, Daniel took the title of King. The Pope also issued various epistles in different directions concerning the necessity of a crusade against Tartars. But, as the Pope's epistles produced no effect, Daniel broke off intercourse with Rome, although he retained the kingly title; and, at last, considered how he could, with his own resources alone, save himself from the Tartar yoke. In order to effect that important purpose, he began to fortify different towns. He also did not allow the Khan's voevodes to obtain a firm footing in the country along the lower current of the Dnieper. Besides, Daniel commenced open warfare with a certain weak Tartar commander, Kooremso. But when, in Kooremso's place, a more energetic leader, Booroomdai was sent, Daniel saw the impossibility of struggling with the Tartars, and was even forced by their demands to destroy the fortifications of his own towns. But, if Daniel was unsuccessful in opposing the Tartars, he was more fortunate in war with other enemies. At that epoch, Lithuania began to be powerful, thanks to the weakness of Russian principalities, and also by power being invested in one individual, as the Lithuanian Prince Mendovg began to introduce in his dominions. Mendovg was a cunning, cruel barbarian, who scrupled at no means in order to obtain his end. In spite of all this, however, Daniel succeeded in war with Lithuania; and after Mendovg's death, his son Voishelg acknowledged his dependence on Daniel's brother Vasilko of Volhynia. Daniel also overcame the Yatviagi. They at length promised to serve him, and to build towns in their own country. These victories established Daniel's fame in neighbouring nations. They indeed endeavoured to obtain his aid and alliance with him. Consequently, Daniel took part in a struggle between the Hungarians and Bohemians, on account of Austria, whose throne was then vacant. By a treaty with the King of Hungary, Daniel's son Roman married the deceased Austrian Duke's sister, and, as her dowry, received Austria. But the King of Hungary deceived Roman, and would not give him aid against the Bohemians and their King, Otocar. So Daniel was forced to abandon the prospect

1246—Daniel
made King of
Galicia by
Pope Inno-
cent iv.

of placing his son on the throne of Austria. Not only was Daniel a renowned warrior, but he was also famed for his administrative talent. In fact, thanks to him, Galicia prospered, even after the devastation of the Tartars. Thus, if he could not throw off their yoke, which was his great desire, he at all events cherished the hope that his successors would be happier in this respect. And his hope was not disappointed; for his dynasty, less than other Russian princes, was subject to the Khan.

1264-1266.

Daniel Romanovitch of Galicia died between the years 1264 and 1266, nearly at the same epoch as Alexander Nevski, who passed away in 1263. There is even a certain resemblance in the disposition and character of these two distinguished contemporaries. Yet there is an important difference also, arising from the fact that one was a northern, the other a southern prince. Daniel, deeply wounded by the humiliation he had undergone at the Horde, could in nowise become reconciled to the necessity of temporary submission to the Tartars. Alexander Nevski, not less brave than Daniel, and also famed for heroic exploits, was, however, more calculating, prudent, and wise. Nevski acknowledged the sad necessity of purchasing his people's deliverance from Tartar oppression, only by gifts and homage rendered to the all-powerful barbarians. That Daniel was obliged not only to abandon the hope of casting off the Tartar yoke, but that he was actually forced to destroy the forts he himself had raised, affords the best justification of Alexander's policy.

After King Daniel's death, Galicia was divided among his sons, Leo, Mstislav, and Schwarn. Volhynia, as previously, remained in the possession of Vasilko Romanovitch, Daniel's brother. In Lithuania, Mindovg's son Voishelg became a monk, and remitted his domains to his brother-in-law, Schwarn Danilovitch. But Schwarn soon died childless; and the Lithuanians summoned Voishelg from the cloister to become their Prince once more. Voishelg was, however, killed by Schwarn's brother, Leo Danilovitch, who wished to obtain Lithuania. He, notwithstanding, failed to do so; and the Lithuanians chose a prince from among their own people. On the eastern side of the Dnieper, Daniel's rival was Prince Michael Vsevolodovitch of Tscherneegov. He and his boyarine Feodor both suffered martyrdom at the Tartar Horde, 14th February 1244.

By inheritance, Daniel's grandson Youree reigned over all Galicia and Volhynia; but his race soon became extinct. Kazimir III., King of Poland, profited by disorder in south-western Russia, and, after a sudden attack, seized the town of Lemberg (Lvov). Subsequently he conquered nearly the whole of Galicia (1340). Volhynia (Volodomiria) then fell to the lot of the Grand Princes of Lithuania.

CHAPTER XI

REIGN OF DMITRI ALEXANDROVITCH, 1276-1294

AFTER all the sons of Yaroslav Vsevolodovitch had died out, the right of seniority devolved on Dmitri Alexandrovitch, Prince of Periaslavl, and son of the hero Nevski. Following the example of his predecessors, Dmitri endeavoured to strengthen himself by a firm possession of Novgorod. But as Vasili Yaroslavitch had opposed his elder brother Yaroslav, so now Dmitri met with opposition from an ambitious younger brother, André Alexandrovitch, Prince of Gorodetz. André even desired to supplant Dmitri, and accordingly went to the Horde. There André loaded the Khan with gifts. Thus the ambitious prince procured what he desired, or, in other words, a document entitling him to the Grand Princely throne. Not only so: forces were likewise sent against Dmitri by the Khan. The remaining Russian princes also took André's part. Thus Dmitri alone could not withstand their united armies, and fled to the Baltic Sea. The Tartars, thus brought of André, then devastated Russia. But when they again withdrew to the Steppes, Dmitri returned with hired forces. At that epoch the Horde was divided. On the shores of the Black Sea was encamped the horde of Nogai, independent of the Golden or Volga Horde, and unfriendly to it. Nogai had formerly been a voevode of the Khan, but eventually shook off his authority, and reigned over the regions now forming the south of Russia. Dmitri applied to Nogai, and, with his help, once more took possession of the throne. Meanwhile, André feigned submission. Soon afterwards, however, along with other princes, he went to the Golden Horde. Thence he brought forces, and finally overthrew Dmitri, who was obliged to renounce his rights to the throne.

Dmitri died in 1294. He was twice married, but historians do not name his consorts. He left two sons, John and Alexander, and several daughters, one of whom, Mary, married Dovmont of Pskov, Prince of Lithuania.

CHAPTER XII

REIGN OF ANDRÉ III. (ALEXANDROVITCH), 1294-1304

AT this epoch the princes of Russia were divided into two parties. One favoured André, the other opposed him. André's reign was a period of great misfortune to Russia; for he may truly be called the worst enemy of his own country. It was ruined by him. Its towns were taken; Christians were slaughtered by un-

believers; and, in general, much innocent blood was shed. During this interval, while the elder sons of Nevski were exhausting their strength in civil war, the principality of Moscow was gradually becoming powerful. It was governed by Nevski's younger son, Daniel. At first he had taken André's part against Dmitri; but, after the death of the latter, Daniel, along with Dmitri's son, Ivan (John) of Periaslavl, and Michael Yaroslavitch of Tver, took up arms against André. Daniel also made war on the Prince of Riazane, and took him prisoner. Finally, Daniel was fortunate enough to receive an important acquisition to his principality. We allude to Periaslavl, which he obtained as a legacy from his nephew, Ivan Dmitrievitch. The latter died childless. Moreover, the princes of Russia now began to consider themselves entire disposers of their possessions, while formerly they had belonged, as general property, to the whole princely race. André Alexandrovitch was, however, unwilling to allow Daniel of Moscow to become more powerful, although the efforts of the former were ineffectual. In 1303 Daniel died. His eldest son, Youree, also used every means to extend his power. He did not give up Periaslavl to his uncle André, and took Mojaïsk from the principality of Smolensk.

Historians do not name André's first consort. The second was Anna (or Vasilissa, according to the annals of Voskresensk), daughter of Dmitri Borisovitch of Rostov. André's sons were Boris, Dmitri, and Alexander.

CHAPTER XIII

REIGN OF MICHAEL II. (YAROSLAVITCH), 'THE LOVER OF HIS NATIVE COUNTRY,'

1304-1328—RESIDENCE IN TVER—STRUGGLE BETWEEN MOSCOW AND TVER

AFTER the death of André Alexandrovitch, the Grand Principality of Vladimir belonged by right of seniority to Michael Yaroslavitch, Prince of Tver. We have, however, already seen that might was gradually taking the place of right. Youree Danilovitch of Moscow was more powerful than Michael, and consequently wished to reign in Vladimir also. The rivals accordingly went to the Horde. There Michael gave a higher price at the auction, and consequently returned as Grand Prince, having obtained a document from the Khan. Michael was, notwithstanding, indignant at Youree's rivalry, and also because he would not give up Periaslavl. Michael, therefore, twice attacked Youree and invaded Moscow, but unsuccessfully. Michael, like his predecessors, tried to confirm his power in Novgorod. There, however, his representative harassed the citizens; and, when the latter resented this, Michael stopped the transport of provisions to

the city, and forced its inhabitants to pay fifteen hundred greeven. Michael's representatives continued, meanwhile, to oppress the citizens. Youree Danilovitch was also at this epoch devising means to augment his principality. He killed his father's prisoner, the Prince of Riazane, retained the Riazane district of Kolomna, forced his brothers to retire to Tver, and refused to give them appanages.

Matters were in this state when the Khan Tochta died (1313), and was succeeded by his young nephew, Uzbek. Michael was thus obliged to go to the Horde to receive a document from the new Khan. The Novgorodians then profited by Michael's absence to throw off the oppression of Tver. They sent to Moscow to summon Prince Youree, who soon came and was received with gladness. But their joy was of short duration. The Khan summoned Youree to the Horde. Youree went, accompanied by Novgorodian ambassadors. Meanwhile, Michael, on returning from the Horde, defeated the Novgorodians who had dared to oppose him. They were then threatened with great misfortune, when Youree returned from the Horde. He had made the best use of his sojourn there. Not only did he justify himself from Michael's accusations, but made alliance with the Khan's family by marrying his sister Kontschaka (baptized Agaphia). Youree, as the Khan's brother-in-law, returned to Russia accompanied by a Tartar ambassador, Kavgadi, and began to make war on Michael. The latter, however, defeated Youree at the village of Bortenev (at forty versts from Tver), and made many prisoners. Among them were Youree's wife, his brother Boris, and a large number of princes and boyards. Youree then fled to Novgorod. The Novgorodians and inhabitants of Pskov took his part, and marched with him against Michael. The adversaries met at the Volga; but no battle occurred. Instead, they resolved to decide the dispute at the Horde. Unfortunately Youree's wife died while a prisoner at Tver. Reports were soon spread that she had been poisoned. They were, of course, favourable to Youree. He went to the Horde, accompanied by Kavgadi as well as many princes, nobles, and Novgorodians, in order to complain of Michael to the Khan. Kavgadi powerfully confirmed all Youree's statements; and Michael was summoned to the Horde (1319). There he was judged, condemned, and put to death in the most barbarous manner. This occurred beyond the Terek, and not far from Derbent, where the Khan had gone to hunt. The murder of Michael took place almost before the very eyes of his cruel cousin Youree.

Karamzine gives a touching description of Michael's last days. He was attached to a chain, fastened to a huge block of wood, so that he could neither stand nor walk. His only consolation was to read a copy of the Psalter which he had with him. He was finally stabbed, and his heart was dragged out while

1319—November 22—
Martyrdom of
Saint Michael
of Tver.

he was yet alive. According to popular tradition, Michael's remains did not decompose. They were brought back to Russia and interred at Tver. Michael's consort was Anna Dmitrievna, Princess of Rostov. He had four sons, Dmitri, Alexander, Constantine, and Basil.

During the reign of Michael Yaroslavitch, the Metropolitan of all Russia was Peter, remarkable for his humanity and zeal. He was canonised by the Russo-Greek Church. It has also made the unhappy Michael Yaroslavitch a saint.

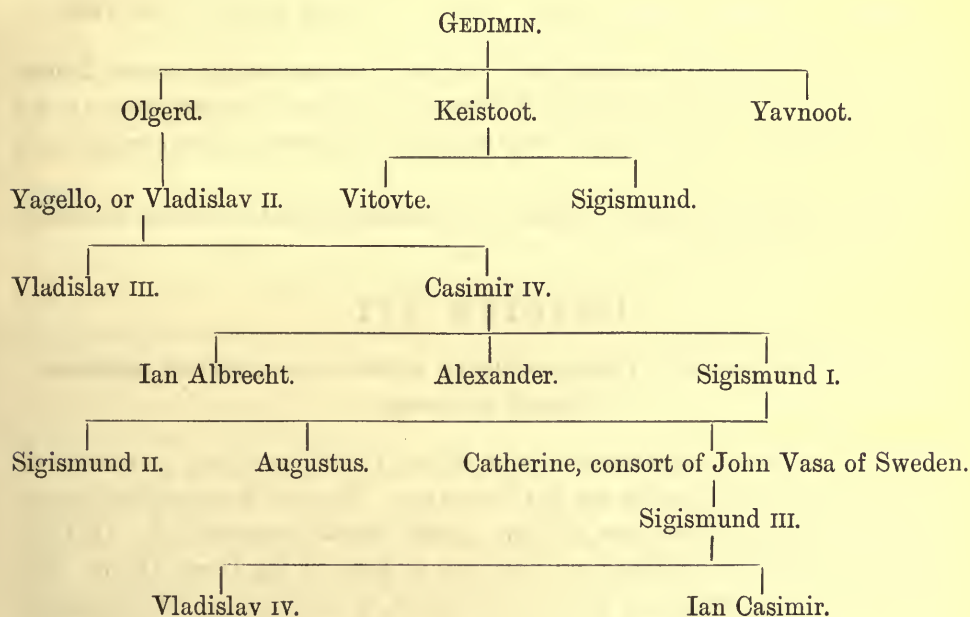
CHAPTER XIV

REIGN OF YOUREE (GEORGE) III. (DANILOVITCH), 1319-1323

AFTER the martyrdom of Saint Michael, his adversary, Youree Danilovitch, was proclaimed Grand Prince. He carried on a successful war with the Swedes, and, at the source of the Neva, founded a fort named Oreshek (Schlüsselburg).

At this epoch there was a remarkable Prince of Lithuania named Gedimin (1315-1340). There is a tradition that he had been a groom of the Lithuanian Prince Viten, killed his master, and then usurped supreme power. But, from other more authentic sources, Gedimin was simply either a brother or a son of Viten. Endued with no ordinary mind and energy, Gedimin artfully profited by the weakness and disorder in south-western Russia, in order to bring it under Lithuanian sway. By a decided victory (at the river Irpeni, 1321) gained over the united forces of southern Russian princes and Mongols, Gedimin subdued the districts of Kiev. There, by aid of family alliances and treaties, he obtained the whole of Volhynia. Notwithstanding, the inhabitants of Russian districts willingly submitted to Lithuania, because it freed them from the Tartar yoke. Besides, Gedimin did not violate their interior administration and the ancient rights of the Russo-Greek clergy. In fact, many Russian towns submitted to him spontaneously. Gedimin took the title of Grand Prince of Lithuania and Russia, and established his residence in the town of Vilna, which he founded on the banks of the river Vilia. He did much to civilise the half-savage Lithuanians, granted the Hanseatic merchants right to trade without paying duty in his dominions, encouraged artisans to come from neighbouring countries, and ruled mildly over those he had conquered. Gedimin endeavoured by matrimonial alliances to unite his family with the posterity of Saint Vladimir. The Lithuanian Prince, moreover, permitted his sons to embrace the Russo-Greek faith, and to build Christian places of worship in Vilna and in Novgorooda. He himself, however, remained true to the religion of his ancestors, and died a heathen. He

was fatally wounded during the siege of a knightly castle. According to ancient custom, the prince's body was burned on a funeral pile, along with his war-steed and his favourite armour-bearer.



Meanwhile, the Tartars again devastated Russia; and its princes did not cease to quarrel and to calumniate each other at the Horde.

When Youree Danilovitch returned to Moscow, with the Khan's so-called 'yarleek,' or permission to occupy the Grand Princely throne, the Princes of Tver—sons of Michael Yaroslavitch—for a time submitted to Moscow. Michael's eldest son was Dmitri, surnamed 'with the terrible eyes.'

Youree soon afterwards went to Novgorod, in order to defend it from enemies, and Dmitri wended his steps to the Horde to complain of Youree. Dmitri, meanwhile, obtained the Khan's yarleek as Grand Prince. Youree then also went to the Horde. There the rivals met. Dmitri, filled with indignation at his father's murderer, plunged a sword into the heart of Youree.

Historians do not name Youree's first consort. As we have already mentioned, the second was a Tartar princess, Kontschaka (Agaphia), sister of the Khan Uzbek.

Youree's two sons were Vladimir and Leo.

CHAPTER XV

REIGN OF DMITRI MICHAELOVITCH, 'WITH THE TERRIBLE EYES,' 1323-1326

THE Khan Uzbek remained silent for two years, but at length ordered Dmitri Michaelovitch to be put to death, and assigned the Grand Princely throne to his brother Alexander. In this wise, Tver issued as conqueror in the struggle with Moscow.

Dmitri's consort was Mary, daughter or granddaughter of Gedimin of Lithuania.

CHAPTER XVI

REIGN OF ALEXANDER II. (MICHAELOVITCH), 1326-1328—STRUGGLE BETWEEN
MOSCOW AND TVER

ALEXANDER MICHAELOVITCH obtained the Khan's yarleek, granting permission to reign, but soon lost his favour and the throne too. We shall subsequently explain this sudden change of fortune and the causes which occasioned it. In 1339, Alexander and his son Feodor were both put to death at the Tartar Horde. The Khan then nominated Ioann (John) Danilovitch Grand Prince. The consort of Alexander Michaelovitch was named Anastasia. Their sons were Feodor, Vsevolod, Leo, Michael, Yaroslav, Vasili, André, and Vladimir; two daughters, Julianna and Mary. The former married Olgerd of Lithuania, and the latter, Simeon 'the Proud' of Moscow. André, Vsevolod, and Vladimir Alexandrovitchi, their mother and their consorts, all died of the pest in 1365.

CHAPTER XVII

REIGN OF IOANN (JOHN) I. (DANILOVITCH), SURNAMED 'KALEETA,' OR
'WITH THE SCRIP,' 1328-1340

THE inheritance of Youree Danilovitch of Moscow passed to his brother Ioann, 'Kaleeta,'¹ whose remaining brothers had all died during Youree's life. Consequently, Kaleeta alone inherited the principality of Moscow. As Youree was constantly absent, Kaleeta had administered Moscow, and obtained for it an

¹ The surname of 'Kaleeta,' given to Ioann Danilovitch, arose from his habit of always carrying about with him a small 'scrip,' or 'kaleeta' as it was then called, in which was money to be distributed as alms among the poor.

important acquisition. Even in 1299 the Metropolitan Maximus had quitted the devastated Kiev, where he could no longer find safety, and went to live in Vladimir. Kaleeta succeeded in conciliating Maximus's successor, Peter, who resided more in Moscow than elsewhere, and who was buried in the Moscow Kreml. This establishment of the Metropolitan's see in Moscow had an important signification. Moscow thus became the chief capital of Russia. For there were yet many princes; but not one had hitherto succeeded in subduing all the others. There was, however, only one Metropolitan. Besides, the Metropolitan's see augmented the extent and wealth of Moscow, as, from all directions, many came who had need of the Metropolitan's aid. Finally, he was obliged to take the part of the prince in whose town he resided. The other princes were, meanwhile, not a little offended on seeing the importance thus attached to Moscow; but they could not oppose it.

During this interval, as Ioann was thus obtaining great privileges for his principality, a circumstance occurred in Tver which had fatal consequences to its princes and to their possessions.

In 1327 there came to Tver a certain Tartar ambassador named Tschol-Khan, or Schel Khan (as he is called in Russian annals). This ambassador was cousin of Uzbek; and, like all other Tartar functionaries, allowed himself and his followers to use every sort of violence. The inhabitants of Tver thus lost patience, rose in arms against the Tartars, and destroyed them all along with Tschol-Khan. Uzbek was accordingly indignant. But when Kaleeta heard of what had taken place, he resolved to make use of the circumstance in his own favour and against Alexander; for, as we have already mentioned, there was a struggle between Moscow and Tver. Thus Kaleeta went to the Horde. He returned from it, accompanied by 50,000 Tartar warriors, who laid waste the principality of Tver. Alexander, meanwhile, fled in terror to Pskov; and the principality of Tver was frightfully devastated. Kaleeta and Alexander's brother, Constantine Michaelovitch, then went to the Horde. Uzbek gave the Grand Princely throne to Kaleeta, and Tver to Constantine. Both these princes were dismissed with orders to seek for Alexander. The princes and Novgorodians accordingly sent to Pskov to persuade Alexander to go to the Horde, otherwise, in consequence of his refusal, all the rest would suffer from the Tartars. And Alexander was on the point of going, when the inhabitants of Pskov urged him to remain. 'Prince, do not go to the Horde!' exclaimed they. 'Whatever happens, let us die together with thee!' So Alexander remained. On seeing that the inhabitants of Pskov had promised to die with Alexander, and fearing resistance in that quarter, Kaleeta persuaded the Metropolitan Theognostes to excommunicate Alexander

and all Pskov, if both refused the demand of the princes. This means proved effectual. Alexander then said to the Pskovians: 'My brothers and friends! do not let yourselves be accursed for my sake! I shall quit your town and relieve you from your oath!' The Pskovians, with tears, let Alexander go to Lithuania, for his goodness pleased them.

During a year and a half Alexander remained in Lithuania, and when the storm had passed he returned with his wife to Pskov, where the citizens gladly received him, and nominated him their Prince. For ten years Alexander quietly reigned in Pskov, but, meanwhile, he pined for his native province, Tver, and was disquieted concerning the future of his children. 'If I die here,' he used to say, 'what will become of my family? All know that I fled from my principality, and died in a strange land. In this wise my children will be deprived of their inheritance.' And, sure enough, Pskov, from the very form of its existence, could not be an hereditary principality for his sons. In 1336 Alexander sent his son Feodor to the Horde to ascertain if there was any possibility of propitiating the Khan. On hearing that there was hope of success, Alexander went himself to the Horde. There he obtained the Khan's yarleek for the occupation of Tver, which Constantine Michaelovitch was obliged to cede to Alexander. But his return was a signal for renewing the struggle between Moscow and Tver. In 1339 Kaleeta went to the Horde. At his suggestion Alexander was summoned there also, and when he arrived he was put to death, along with his son Feodor. Kaleeta returned from the Horde loaded with honour and favour. The principality of Tver was again assigned to Constantine Michaelovitch, who was surnamed 'The Collector and Restorer of the Districts of Tver.'

Hitherto, when a Grand Prince had endeavoured to become powerful, he encountered much opposition from the other princes, beginning with his own brothers. But in this respect Kaleeta was more fortunate, for none offered to oppose him, either in Russia or at the Horde. The secret was that Kaleeta had wealth. Besides, the Moscow nobles also allowed themselves to exercise various acts of violence in Rostov, expelled many of its inhabitants, and forced them to go elsewhere. Tver, likewise, suffered much from Moscow after Alexander's death. As the Novgorodians had been saved by Moscow during the struggle they had with Tver, they always took the part of the Moscow princes. But as soon as Kaleeta had overcome Tver, he hastened to show the Novgorodians that things had changed, and that not one powerful Grand Prince would be their friend. Hitherto, also, the Novgorodians had been accustomed to rid themselves of princes with whom they could not agree, by means of money; and money was now much wanted by princes for their expenses at the Horde. There, indeed,

gold was literally all-powerful. Kaleeta accordingly demanded money from the Novgorodians, and, on their refusal to give it, he devastated their territories, built villages on their ground, and sent troops to the regions of the Dvina. These regions the Novgorodians particularly esteemed, as they thence received silver and costly fur. But if discontent at the measures of Kaleeta prevailed in Rostov, Tver, and Novgorod, it was far otherwise in Moscow and in Vladimir. From the commencement of Kaleeta's reign there was, in fact, quietness, and little was heard of the Tartars. This external tranquillity enabled the Prince of Moscow to organise the interior of his principality, and to remove from it what hindered its prosperity. In a word, Kaleeta knew how to make use of circumstances, and to continue what Daniel and Youree of Moscow had commenced. Moreover, Kaleeta made his contemporaries feel the beneficial effects of power invested in one individual. Hence he has passed to posterity with the additional surname of 'Collector of Russian land.' True, Kaleeta did not do so by conquests; but he saved money, and thus bought small principalities from their owners, such, for example, as Buloozero and Galitch (in the present governments of Novgorod and Kostroma).

At the same epoch that, in the north-east, Russian ground was beginning to be collected around Moscow, a similar movement took place in the south-west by means of the Lithuanian princes. The posterity of King Daniel could not maintain the greatness of Galicia, and collect around it south-western Russia, although Volhynia also passed to that line, for the son of Vasilko Romanovitch, Vladimir, died childless. But at that period Lithuania became more and more powerful. As we have previously remarked, this was especially the case during the reign of the celebrated Gedimin (1315-1340). Besides, the barbarous Lithuanians, in contact with the more civilised Russians, could not fail to be influenced by the latter. Thus the Russian language and the Russo-Greek religion began to be spread in Lithuania.

Death surprised Ioann I. (Danilovitch Kaleeta) in the midst of his projects ^{1340—Death of Kaleeta.} (1340). Like many other princes of the epoch, he became a monk during his last moments. It was Ioann Kaleeta who reconstructed the Moscow Kremlin, and there founded two of its largest cathedrals, *i.e.* that of the Assumption (1326) and of the Archangel Michael (1333). The latter subsequently became the burying-place of the Grand Princes of Moscow and of their relatives. There, too, Kaleeta himself was interred. His tomb is still in perfect preservation.

Kaleeta did much to advance the future greatness of his country, for he laid the foundation of power invested in one individual. Besides his best-known surname of 'Kaleeta,' the people called him a 'Father Sovereign' and 'The Collector

of Russian land.' But the greatness of Ioann Danilovitch will be for ever tarnished by the blood-stained shades of his unhappy kinsmen, Alexander and Feodor of Tver, put to death at the Tartar Horde, because there calumniated by Kaleeta.

Historians do not mention the name of this prince's consort. As a recluse of the Theema, she was called Helena. Kaleeta's three sons were Simeon, Ioann, and André. Three daughters were named Phétenia, Mary, and Theodosia.

Kaleeta was succeeded by his eldest son, Simeon.

CHAPTER XVIII

REIGN OF SIMEON IOANNOVITCH, 'THE PROUD,' FIRST OF THE GRAND PRINCES WHO
TOOK THE TITLE OF PRINCE OF ALL RUSSIA, 1340-1353

KALEETA divided his principality and his other possessions among his three sons and his consort. Simeon, the eldest, along with all the other Russian princes, went immediately to the Horde. But rivalry of the rest with the rich, powerful Princes of Moscow was impossible. The Khan accordingly declared Simeon Grand Prince of Vladimir. 'In fact, all the remaining princes were placed under Simeon's hand,' to quote the expression of annals. It thus happened that what Mstislav the Brave had so much feared, actually took place. In other words, the remaining princes of Russia ceased to enjoy equal rights as the relatives of the Grand Prince. Henceforth they were merely his subordinates, assistants, subject to his authority. Kaleeta's son, indeed, immediately made the princes feel their changed circumstances. Hence his surname, 'The Proud,' which they gave him.

With the Novgorodians Simeon Ioannovitch acted as his predecessors had done. That is to say, he made war on Novgorod, and forced its inhabitants to buy peace at a high price. During Simeon's reign all was quiet in the direction of the Horde. He went there five times, and each time returned with honour and after receiving gratifications. In fact, Simeon followed Kaleeta's system of government—he humiliated himself before the Khan in the most abject manner, and haughtily domineered over the princes of Russia. Meanwhile the Khan Uzbek died. He was famous in the history of the Mongols as a zealous Mohammedan, and in Russian history as the destroyer of Michael Yaroslavitch of Tver, and of his sons Dmitri and Alexander. Usbek's son, Tschanibek, by evil deeds and bloodshed, succeeded in obtaining the dignity of Great Khan. At this epoch, circumstances were such in Russia that all its princes were forced to

submit to the Khan. Accordingly, Simeon Ioannovitch, accompanied by the Metropolitan, went to Tschanibek, in order to testify submission.

But, if all was quiet in the east, Russia was threatened by a dangerous enemy at the west, *i.e.* Lithuania. We have already seen that Gedimin was intent on subduing the districts of western Russia. His son Olgerd turned his attention towards the east also. According to annalists, Olgerd was endued with much mind. He spoke several languages. He, moreover, disliked amusement, attended to business day and night, was abstemious, and drank no intoxicating liquor. He thus fostered his natural abilities. Finally, by stratagem he acquired many additional possessions, and thereby enlarged his principality. Olgerd began war with Simeon by marching against Mojaïsk (government of Moscow); but, as Olgerd could not cope with Moscow alone, he hoped to ruin the principality by means of the Tartars. He therefore sent his brother to the Horde, in order to be the Khan's aid against Simeon. But the Prince of Moscow represented to the Khan that it would also be dangerous to him if Olgerd became powerful by the conquest of Eastern Russia. The Khan believed this. He listened to Simeon's suggestions, detained Olgerd's brother and gave him up to Simeon. Olgerd was thus forced to make peace with the Prince of Moscow. On the other hand, an important aid to eastern Russia was, that Olgerd was constantly engaged in the west in a struggle, dangerous to him, with the German knights in Prussia.

Meanwhile, Pskov carried on incessant war with the Germans of Livonia, and, as no aid was to be obtained from distant Moscow, the Pskovians were obliged to apply to the nearest prince, *i.e.* the sovereign of Lithuania. They indeed took Olgerd's son André to rule over them. He, however, would not live in Pskov himself, but wished to govern by means of a representative. But the Pskovians were displeased with this arrangement, and expelled the Lithuanian ambassador. By so doing they made a new enemy in Lithuania. Novgorod, too, struggled with Sweden. Its king, Magnus, again thought of forming a crusade against Novgorod, in order to convert the Russians to the religion of Rome. Magnus would have taken Orieszko, but the Novgorodians took that town again. During the war with Sweden the Novgorodians needed aid from Pskov, and acknowledged its entire independence from Novgorod. It was agreed that no Novgorodian *posādnik* should be placed or should judge in Pskov. Finally, Pskov was no longer to be called a suburb of Novgorod, but 'its younger brother.' A certain degree of dependence was only to remain regarding the Church, as the Archbishop of Novgorod was also that of Pskov. However, it was agreed that the Archbishop's decision should be executed in Pskov by a Pskovian, and not by a Novgorodian.

The reign of Simeon Ioannovitch is remarkable for great physical suffering

in Russia. A terrible illness, known in annals as the 'Black Death,' after depopulating Asia, Italy, France, Germany, and other countries, was brought to Russia by Hanseatic vessels (1353). Vast numbers then succumbed. In Pskov only a third part of the inhabitants remained (see Ilovaiski, p. 84). In the towns of Kiev, Tscherneegov, Gluchov, Smolensk, Souzdal, and Bielozersk, not a single individual survived. All Russia suffered from this scourge of Heaven. But Providence, at that trying moment, granted Moscow a singularly good and pious Metropolitan in the person of Alexis.

The Black Death claimed Simeon Ioannovitch as its prey at the early age of thirty-five. Two of his sons, John and Simeon, had previously died of that fearful malady during one week.

Simeon was the first who entitled himself 'Grand Prince of all Russia.' This title prognosticated the happy epoch of power invested in one individual. At the epoch of 1353 a holy man named Sergius founded the famous Cloister of the Trinity, near Moscow.

As Simeon Ioannovitch survived his children, he left all his property to his consort. At her death her possessions were to pass to Simeon's brother Ioann. This circumstance is remarkable, as two districts of the principality of Moscow were now combined in one, so that the power of Ioann Ioannovitch was doubled. A third son of Kaleeta, André, died immediately after Simeon. André's son, Vladimir, born after his father's death, received only one paternal district.

Simeon Ioannovitch had three consorts—Augusta (baptized Anastasia) of Lithuania, daughter or granddaughter of Gedimin, according to Karamzine; Evpraxia Feodorovna of Smolensk, sent back again to her father by Simeon; the third consort of this prince was Maria Alexandrovna of Tver, daughter of the unhappy Prince Alexander Michaelovitch, put to death at the Tartar Horde. Karamzine mentions three of Simeon's sons—Constantine, Daniel, and Michael—all of whom died young. A daughter of Simeon married Michael Vasilievitch of Tver. The Princess Evpraxia Feodorovna, even during Simeon's life, married Feodor Rufus of Faminsk.

CHAPTER XIX

REIGN OF IOANN II. (IOANNOVITCH), 'THE MEEK,' 1353-1359

SIMEON'S brother Ioann (John) had a rival who laid claim to the Grand Princely throne. He was Constantine Vasilievitch, Prince of Souzdal, descended, according to some, from André Yaroslavitch, brother of Alexander Nevski, or, according to others, from André Alexandrovitch, Nevski's son.

Constantine Vasilievitch had no right whatsoever to the Grand Princely throne, because neither his father nor grandfather had reigned. Constantine, however, desired the throne, not according to ancient rights, but simply because each prince thought himself entitled to do so if he was audacious, rich, and powerful. Constantine Vasilievitch was audacious. Notwithstanding, he was neither as rich nor as powerful as the Prince of Moscow, who, in consequence of his power, obtained a yarleek at the Tartar Horde. Moreover, Ioann maintained his position as Grand Prince, although the Novgorodians, displeased with the Moscow princes, were intriguing with the Khan in favour of Constantine.

Annalists call Ioann II. a mild, quiet, gracious prince. Karamzine, however, considers him insignificant and even somewhat contemptible. At all events, he was in nowise similar to his predecessors. In administering his principality he received no small aid from the old boyards of his father, and especially from the Metropolitan Alexis, who belonged to an ancient noble family of Tscherneevov. Alexis has been canonised by the Russo-Greek Church. His tomb at the Moscow Kreml, and still in perfect preservation, is an object of much veneration to Russians. Alexis went repeatedly to the Horde, and there obtained the Khan's special favour.

An event so advantageous to Russia at that epoch took place, according to tradition, under the following circumstances:—Tai-doo-la, wife of the Khan Tschanibek, suffered from a disease of the eyes. 'We have heard,' wrote the Khan to the Grand Prince, 'that Heaven refuses nothing in answer to the prayers of your chief pope.¹ Therefore let him pray for the health of my consort.' Saint Alexis accordingly went to the Horde and cured Tai-doo-la. Probably the Metropolitan had some knowledge of medicine, like several of the clergy and monks of that epoch, but this is not stated in annals. Pious Russians of the age affirmed that the Tartar princess had been cured merely by the prayers of Alexis. Be this as it may, however, the event was most favourable to the Russians, for Tschanibek was grateful to them, and treated them mildly.

But soon afterwards Tschanibek was put to death by his fierce son Berdibek, who also killed his twelve brothers, and then reigned at the Horde. At the same time many leaders of the Tartar army revolted and rendered themselves independent of the Khan. Thus the terrible Horde, so dreaded by the Russians, began to be like a house divided against itself, and thus to occasion its own fall.

Long had Russia groaned under the Tartar yoke; but at length the clang of arms resounded on the banks of the Don, and aroused the suffering nation. A

¹ A rude word in Russ, equivalent to parson in English. *Sviashennik* signifies a priest.

deadly, bloody war ensued, destructive to humanity, but unavoidable to Russia as a decisive step in its struggle for freedom from degrading thralldom.

The fierce Berdibek had no sooner taken possession of the Tartar throne than he meditated an invasion of Russian territory. Accordingly, Ioann II. requested the Metropolitan Alexis once more to go to the Horde, and, aided by his protectress Tai-doo-la (Berdibek's mother), to soften the Khan's indignation. Fortunately this was effected. Alexis, like his predecessors, urged the Khan to give him a *yarleek*, which confirmed the rights of the Russian clergy, *i.e.* exemption from imposts levied by the Tartars.

We must now notice the concluding events of Ioann's brief reign. It is, however, at the same time necessary to premise that when the princes of northern Russia ceased to remove from one principality to another, and remained constantly in one spot, their militia continued to remain with them also. It hence arose that the position of the boyards acquired peculiar signification. As permanent, distinguished, rich inhabitants of the principality, they could transmit their honours to their children. Great distinction was especially attached to the position of *teesiatski*, as commander of town armies, having close, intimate intercourse with the inhabitants of the town. He could henceforth occupy his important post during the successive reigns of several princes without being changed, and might even transmit it to his son. During the reign of Simeon the Proud, a boyarine named Alexei (Alexis) Petrovitch Hvost raised a sedition against the Grand Prince, was expelled, and deprived of his districts. All the sons of Kaleeta—Simeon, Ioann, André—swore henceforth to receive neither this seditious boyarine nor his children. Notwithstanding, Alexei Petrovitch appeared as *teesiatski* during the reign of Ioann. But in 1357 this nobleman was secretly put to death by the other boyards, according to general report. Hence ensued a great sedition in the town, and many Moscow boyards were obliged to remove to Riazane. But when all was once more quiet, the Grand Prince again summoned two of his boyards to return from Riazane to Moscow. They were Michael and his brother-in-law, Vasili Vasilievitch Viliameenov, who was promoted to the post of *teesiatski*.

In 1359 Ioann Ioannovitch died at the age of thirty-three. Historians mention two consorts of this prince—Theodosia Dmitrievna, Princess of Briansk, and Alexandra Ivanovna (Mary, in the monastic state). The subsequently famous Dmitri Donskoi, and a prince named Ioann (John), were sons of Ioann II. He had also two daughters, one of whom married Dmitri Koriadovitch, nephew of Olgerd of Lithuania. A second, Anne, became the wife of Dmitri Michaelovitch, Bobrok of Volhynia, surnamed 'the Volhynian,' a companion-in-arms of Dmitri Donskoi.

CHAPTER XX

REIGN OF DMITRI CONSTANTINOVITCH OF SOUZDAL, 1359-1360

WHEN Ioann II. died he left two minor sons, Dmitri and Ivan (Ioann); also a nephew, Vladimir Andréévitch, still a child.¹ At first it seemed as if the premature death of the Grand Prince would incur the ruin of Moscow. For how could his little sons go to the Horde and struggle with the other princes? And, sure enough, when all the rest appeared before the Khan, those of Moscow alone were absent. The Khan Navroos thereupon assigned the principality of Vladimir-Souzdal to Dmitri Constantinovitch. Moscow was, however, now so strong that it could not be materially injured even by the untoward circumstance of a minor prince. Besides, the Moscovite boyards, accustomed to the service of the most powerful sovereign in Russia, were unwilling to quit his family, and to go to a new spot, unknown to them, and where their position was insecure. They thus endeavoured, by every means in their power, to procure the yarleek for their own prince. Accordingly, little Dmitri Ioannovitch was taken to the Horde; but there nothing was to be obtained, for great sedition prevailed, and one Khan rapidly succeeded another. At length the Horde was divided between two Khans, Murid and Abdool, in whose name a powerful noble, Mamai, administered affairs. The Moscow boyards sent ambassadors to Murid, and he gave a yarleek to Dmitri Ioannovitch. The boyards next placed on horseback all the three little princes, namely Dmitri, Ivan (John), and their cousin, Vladimir Andréévitch, and, along with them, marched against Dmitri Constantinovitch. The latter could not oppose the forces of Moscow, so he left Vladimir. Dmitri Ioannovitch of Moscow, at eleven years of age, thus occupied the capital of the Grand Principality; so that when the ambassador of the Khan Abdool came there, and brought a yarleek to the young prince, the latter received the ambassador with honour and dismissed him with gifts. All these proceedings, however, offended Murid, who, in order to be revenged on Dmitri of Moscow, sent a second yarleek to Vladimir for Dmitri of Souzdal. The latter was greatly rejoiced, and once more took possession of Vladimir, but not for a lengthened period. Dmitri of Moscow, at the head of a large army, expelled his namesake from Vladimir, besieged him in Souzdal, and forced him to renounce the Grand Principality. Subsequently, when Dmitri Constantinovitch received a third

¹ The future hero, Vladimir the Brave, also surnamed 'Donskoi,' because he was the companion-in-arms of his cousin, the famous Dmitri. According to Karamzine, Vladimir Donskoi was one of the bravest and best princes whose names adorn the page of history.

yarleek from the Horde, he no longer wished to struggle with Moscow, and concluded permanent peace with it by giving his daughter Evdokia (pronounce Yevdookeia) in marriage to Dmitri Ioannovitch.

The consort of Dmitri Constantinovitch was Vasilissa or Anna. They had three sons, Vasili, Simeon, and Ivan. The latter was drowned in the river Piania (government of Nijni-Novgorod) during an attack of the Tartars. Karamzine narrates that this took place in summer, during sultry weather. Prince Ivan and his companions-in-arms awaited the Tartars; but, as they did not soon appear, the young prince thought meanwhile to rest. He and his followers accordingly took off their armour and began to feast. But unfortunately they feasted so well that they were finally quite intoxicated. Meanwhile, the Tartars advanced, put the Russians to flight; and, in crossing a stream, Prince Ivan was drowned. In Russ, the word *piānii* means tipsy. So contemporary Russians made a pun on the sad event by saying that 'tipsy men were drowned in the Piania.'

Dmitri Constantinovitch had two daughters, Mary and Evdokia. The former married a Russian nobleman, Nikolai Vasilievitch Viliameenov, son of a teesiatski; and Evdokia was the consort of Dmitri Donskoi.

CHAPTER XXI

REIGN OF DMITRI IOANNOVITCH 'DONSKOI,' THE FIRST CONQUEROR OF THE TARTARS

—BATTLE OF KOOLIKOV, 8TH SEPTEMBER 1380. 1360-1389

THE Tartar commander, Mamai, all-powerful at the Horde, had aided Dmitri Ioannovitch to ascend the throne, but little thought that this young prince would be the future conqueror on the battlefield of Koolikov, the first to break Russia's galling chains.

When Dmitri Ioannovitch had at length overcome his rival, and was eventually in possession of power, he soon made it felt. He subdued the Prince of Rostov, and expelled those of Starodoob and Galitch. Meanwhile, a terrible pestilential malady again devastated Russia. Many died of it, and among others Prince Ivan, the younger brother of Dmitri of Moscow. Ivan's district was then added to the possessions of Dmitri; and this took place quite quietly, while in other districts a vacant succession occasioned civil discord. Such was the case between Dmitri Constantinovitch of Souzdal and his brother Boris, on account of Nijni-Novgorod. The young Grand Prince of Moscow—then only fourteen years of age—took the part of Dmitri Constantinovitch, and forced Boris to cede him

Nijni-Novgorod. Dmitri Ioannovitch then not only used secular power, but was also aided by the metropolitan Alexis, who constantly upheld the policy of the Moscow prince, and endeavoured to confirm his power. Alexis deposed the Bishops of Nijni and Souzdal. At that time also an ambassador from the Moscow prince appeared in the person of Sergius, Abbot of Radonej.

He summoned Boris Constantinovitch to Moscow; and, when the latter refused to go, Sergius, by command of the Grand Prince and the metropolitan, shut up all the churches in Nijni. So Boris was forced to submit.

The whole reign of Dmitri Ioannovitch was, in fact, an uninterrupted continuation of war. He successfully made use of the strength gradually acquired by his predecessors. The grandson of Kaleeta 'was neither as calculating nor as cautious as the first Moscow princes had been, but distinguished himself by a more daring, franker disposition, and boldly carried on a struggle with Tver, Riazane, Lithuania, and the Horde.'

Tver and Riazane, the most considerable Russian districts of that epoch, dreaded the growing power of Moscow. They feared to lose their own independence, and endeavoured to retain it at all hazards. It besides so happened that in both these principalities the contemporaries of Dmitri Ioannovitch were remarkable for their energetic, manly disposition, and capacity for gaining the love of the people. Such were Michael Alexandrovitch of Tver and Oleg Ivanovitch of Riazane. The former began war against Moscow, aided by his brother-in-law, Olgerd of Lithuania. Olgerd three times undertook a campaign, and devastated Moscow, although no decided battle took place. When the Lithuanians ceased to make war, Michael, left alone, was overcome. Not only so: he was, moreover, obliged to renounce claims of seniority, and even to a certain degree acknowledged himself dependent on Moscow (1375).

The last teesiatski of Moscow, Veliamenov, had a son named Ivan, who, on his father's death, passed to the service of the Prince of Tver, and maintained his cause at the Tartar Horde. For so doing, on returning, Ivan Veliamenov was seized and publicly executed in Moscow. The fate of so distinguished a nobleman produced a deep impression on the people.

But, if Tver was so far subdued, the conquest of the Prince of Riazane was less decisive. This protracted struggle was only terminated by aid of the clergy. The Grand Prince of Moscow again sent Saint Sergius as ambassador to Riazane. There, according to annals, 'the holy man, by mild gentle speech, so influenced the stern Oleg, that he forgot his enmity and concluded permanent peace with Moscow' (1386).

CHAPTER XXII

THE BATTLE OF KOOLIKOV, 8TH SEPTEMBER 1380

MEANWHILE, as the principality of Moscow, subsequent to Kaleeta's decease, was gradually becoming more and more powerful, the Golden Horde, on the contrary, was growing weaker and weaker after Uzbek. This was occasioned by internal discord and bloody strife for the Khan's throne. Thus, at the second half of the fourteenth century, the Horde was already divided among several Khans. Accordingly, Dmitri Ioannovitch considered that the favourable moment had come to throw off the hated Tartar yoke. He did not renounce this cherished idea even at the very time when all the Horde was once more united under the power of Mamai. So the Prince of Moscow accordingly commenced hostilities against the Tartars. But, in order to subdue Dmitri, Mamai sent a powerful host against him. However, Dmitri met the Tartars in the districts of Riazane, and gained a great victory there, on the banks of the river Voj. Mamai was therefore highly incensed. He at once began to assemble immense armies in order to remind the Russians of Bati's invasion. Yagello of Lithuania also promised to join the Tartars, and, along with them, to invade Moscow. But Dmitri likewise collected large forces, and summoned the help of petty princes subordinate to himself in the north of Russia; such, for example, as those of Rostov, Bielozersk, Yaroslavl, Moorom, etc. etc.

Before setting out on this memorable campaign, Dmitri Ioannovitch, accompanied by princes and voevodes, went to the Trinity Cloister, in order to receive the blessing of Saint Sergius. (This is a subject of which Russian painters never seem to grow tired. It is indeed given by the Academy as a study for pupils.)

According to annalists, the holy abbot predicted to the Grand Prince a victory, accompanied, however, by frightful bloodshed. At Dmitri's special request, Saint Sergius also permitted two of his monks to join the army. They were Alexander Peresviet and Rodion Osliaba. Both had previously been boyards renowned for bravery. Both had quitted the world and retired to a cloister. Both accompanied Dmitri Ioannovitch to Koolikov, and fell in that terrible battle. Their remains were, notwithstanding, carefully transported to Moscow, and interred with all honour in a small church dedicated to the birth of the Blessed Virgin, near the Seemonov monastery. The tombs of Peresviet and Osliaba are still in perfect preservation. A handsome monument has been erected to their memory.

On the 20th of August the Russian forces, brilliant in shining armour, quitted

1378—Vic-
tory at the
Voj.

Moscow, accompanied by prayers of the people, blessings of the clergy, and sprinkled with holy water. The Grand Prince and his boyards had previously offered up supplications in the Cathedral of the Assumption at the Kreml of Moscow. There they did homage at the shrine of Saint Peter, Metropolitan of Moscow, and visited tombs of Russian princes in a neighbouring cathedral, dedicated to their guardian angel, Saint Michael. Then Dmitri Ioannovitch mounted his war-steed and passed on, by the gates of the Kreml, along with his cousin, Vladimir Andréévitch. The Grand Princess Evdokia and the consort of Vladimir, along with other princesses and boyarinos (wives of nobles) convoyed their husbands with tears and sobs. The weather was bright and warm. Near Kolomna (government of Moscow) Dmitri made a review of his troops. They were numbered, and found to be above 150,000. But the Tartar force amounted to 300,000. Among subordinate princes, two sons of Olgerd of Lithuania (André of Polotsk and Dmitri of Briansk) had joined the Russian army. The forces crossed the Oka, and entered the districts of Riazane. Oleg, Prince of Riazane, dreading an invasion of Tartars, feigned himself the true supporter of Mamai, and promised to join him against Dmitri. Eventually, however, Oleg avoided taking part in the struggle, and joined neither party. When the Russian army approached the Don, Dmitri assembled the princes and boyards in a council. In it he proposed the important questions: 'Was it better to cross the river? Or should the Russians await the Tartars without traversing the stream?' Opinions differed. Some advised the forces to wait. But others, especially the Olgerdovitchi (sons of Olgerd), urged the necessity of marching boldly onwards, and thus prevent Mamai from meeting Yagello, already on the way to join the Tartars. About the same time the Grand Prince received a written communication from Saint Sergius, who again gave his blessing at the coming struggle, and urged that no time should be lost. 'And may God and the Blessed Virgin aid thee!' added the holy man in conclusion.

The division of the guards then gave a sign that the Tartars were approaching. Dmitri ordered a ferry to be sought for the cavalry; and, during the night of September 7, the Russians began to cross the Don.

Ilovaiski, in his *Brief Outline of Russian History* (p. 88), makes the following remarks:—

'Narrations of this celebrated struggle between the Russians and Tartars are adorned with some poetic particulars. Among others is one we subjoin.

"The night previous to the battle of Koolikov was dark and mild. Dmitri's brother-in-law, Dmitri Michaelovitch Bobrok of Volhynia (surnamed 'The Volhynian'), skilled in battles and in foretelling the future, proposed to the Grand

Prince to show signs by which the result of the coming contest could previously be known. The two Dmitris accordingly went to the wide field of Koolikov—placed between the Russian and Tartar armies—and began to listen. From the Tartar side blows and noise were heard, and the howling of wolves, while above the river Nepriadva crows croaked and eagles soared. On turning towards the Russian camp, there was a great stillness, but, from many lights, dawn seemed at hand. Bobrok intimated that it was a good sign. ‘But I have yet other means,’ added he. Thereupon he lay down, placed his right ear upon the ground, and thus remained a long time. Then he rose, looked sad, hung down his head, and continued silent. The Grand Prince hardly dared to ask what he had heard. ‘I have heard,’ replied Bobrok, ‘that the earth weeps much and bitterly. On one side, women’s voices are wailing (in Tartar language) over their children, and shedding torrents of tears for them. On the other side are the shrill high tones of young girls, crying in deep lamentation. I have been in many battles, and I have already experienced these signs. Trust in the grace of God! Thou shalt conquer the Tartars; but thy Christian warriors shall fall like the leaves of autumn.”’

Dmitri Ioannovitch shed tears, and then exclaimed: ‘God’s will be done!’ He promised, however, to tell no one of these signs, in order not to disturb his troops.

On the field of Koolikov, where the small stream Nepriadva falls into the Don, the Russians fought a famous battle with the Tartars. This memorable event took place on September 8, 1380. Never before, on Russian ground, had so fearful an encounter taken place. Over the space of ten versts, blood flowed in torrents. Heaps of dead bodies lay all around. They even hindered the movement of the cavalry. The troops stifled for want of space. The Grand Prince had previously organised a reserve force, under command of his cousin, Vladimir Andréévitch, and the experienced voevode, Bobrok of Volhynia. Concealed in an adjacent forest, they witnessed the battle. The Russian infantry already lay dead, and the Tartars were beginning to gain the advantage, when Prince Vladimir and Bobrok, with fresh troops, bore down on the enemy. The Tartars were beaten and began to flee. The Russians pursued them and seized their richly furnished camp. Dmitri Ioannovitch had meanwhile fought as a simple warrior. At length, wounded and overcome with fatigue, he lost consciousness; and thus he was found lying under a tree. His protracted absence occasioned dread that he had been killed.

Karamzine narrates how Dmitri, on the battlefield, offered up public thanksgiving to Heaven for the great victory.

‘The battle of Koolikov,’ says Soloviev, in his *Short Outline of Russian History* (p. 57) ‘was one of those victories nearly resembling a great defeat; for the

Battle of
Koolikov, 8th
September
1380.

conquerors perished in vast numbers—so vast, that annalists thus express themselves: “The whole of Russian ground was left without voevodes, servants, and every kind of warrior. Thus there was great terror in all the land.”

The battlefield was covered with two hundred thousand slain, and the enemy had lost four times more than the Russians. In order to render due honour to the memory of the brave warriors killed in this famous battle, Dmitri, as a proof of his gratitude to them, instituted a popular festival, called ‘Dmitri’s Saturday,’ still observed by the Russo-Greek Church. That festival takes place between the 18th and the 26th of October, and is specially dedicated to the remembrance of all who fall in battle, but particularly to those who perished at Koolikov. Henceforth the people, too, surnamed Dmitri Ioannovitch ‘Donskoi,’ in commemoration of his famous victory, and also, ‘The first conqueror of the Tartars.’

But although the never-to-be-forgotten battle of Koolikov is so glorious a page in the history of Russia, notwithstanding, this important event did not save the country from the Tartar yoke. The forces of the Horde were still numerous and powerful, because from time to time augmented by swarms of barbarians from the Steppes of Central Asia. When Mamai returned to the Horde, he again began to collect armies in order to march against the princes of Russia. But he was soon hindered from doing so by another enemy. He was Tochtamuish, Khan of Zayaitsk (beyond the Ural). Tochtamuish expelled Mamai, took possession of the Golden Horde, and reigned at Sarai. Tochtamuish sent ambassadors to the Russian princes, to inform them that he had ascended the throne. The princes received the ambassadors with honour, and sent Russian ambassadors with gifts to the new Khan, but did not themselves go to bow down before him. Tochtamuish was highly incensed, and only thought of forcing the Russians to continue their previous submission to their conquerors. In 1382 he collected an immense army and suddenly appeared in Moscow, where the inhabitants were already unaccustomed to Tartar invasions. However, Tochtamuish used every precaution to prevent any from knowing of his approach. This fact alone proves the change that had taken place since the battle of Koolikov. The Khan hoped to succeed only by surprising the Russian princes. He dreaded to meet them prepared for encounter on the open field. He accordingly made use of caution and cunning—weak arms—which displayed the feebleness of the Horde before the gradually growing power of Russia.

At that remote epoch it was customary in Russia, after a campaign, to disband warriors, who returned once more to their homes and to the occupations of peace. Accordingly, when Donskoi heard that the Tartars had again appeared,

he was not ready to meet them. Besides, the victory of Koolikov had literally depopulated whole districts. Donskoi was thus obliged to go northwards in order to collect troops. Meanwhile, Tochtamuish advanced. After destroying many towns and villages, he appeared before Moscow. For three days a bloody battle raged, remarkable for fierceness and cruelty on both sides. Finally, Tochtamuish offered the Moscovites mercy if they would allow him to enter the capital in order to examine its remarkable spots. In the Tartar camp there were two sons of Dmitri of Nijni-Novgorod. They took an oath that the Tartars would do Moscow no harm, and thus urged the citizens to yield to the proposal of Tochtamuish. They accordingly opened the city gates, met the Khan with gifts, and became victims of his treachery. The Tartars with fury burst into the town, slew all they met, plundered rich houses, churches, and the palace. Finally, fire consumed what the sword could not destroy. Many other towns also shared the same fate.

Karamzine narrates that Dmitri Ioannovitch and his cousin, Vladimir Donskoi, actually shed tears and groaned on witnessing the ruins of their once beautiful capital. But Dmitri, humble in prosperity, was also patient and energetic in adversity. He soon cleared Moscow of the slain, and rebuilt the city from its ruins. However, the population had much decreased after the devastation of the Tartars; and thus it continued for long afterwards.

To add to Donskoi's other perplexities, he had also a disagreement with his cousin, Vladimir Andréévitch. Soloviev mentions that interesting details of the conditions made between these two relatives have been preserved. In many respects, the intercourse of the Russian princes with each other had changed. A younger brother was henceforth expected to maintain the power of the elder—'in fear and in honour' to serve him without disobedience; while the elder, in turn, was obliged to maintain the younger during service. Previous intercourse between relations had given place to official intercourse. Vladimir Andréévitch promised to lay no claim to the principality of Moscow and Vladimir, not only during Dmitri's life, but also during that of his sons. The uncle was, moreover, obliged to acknowledge the seniority of the nephew, and to serve him. To the honour of Vladimir Donskoi, we may add that he faithfully performed these promises. We have already mentioned Karamzine's praise of this noble, high-minded prince.

From untoward circumstances it thus came to pass that the conqueror of Mamai was again obliged to submit to the Horde. This was occasioned by the intrigues of Michael of Tver. That prince went to the Khan and persuaded him to deprive Donskoi of the throne. In order to forestall this project, the Grand

Invasion of
Tochtamuish.
Devastation
of Moscow,
August 26,
1382.

Prince was forced to send his eldest son, Vasili Dmitrievitch, to the Horde, and to receive Karatsch, the Khan's ambassador, with honour. The young Prince Vasili succeeded in gaining the good-will of the Khan; thus Michael was obliged to abandon his schemes. But the Khan's favour cost a high price. Tartar ambassadors again appeared in Russia, and levied heavy tribute on the people. It indeed seemed as if the nation's independence had for ever disappeared. Yet Donskoi did not despair. He trusted that the divided state of the Horde prognosticated its fall, and lived in the hope that Russia's deliverance from the Tartar yoke was at hand.

Even in 1377, Dmitri Ioannovitch had been delivered from a dangerous enemy by the death of Olgerd of Lithuania. He was succeeded by his son Yagello, in no wise like his father, because unforeseeing, lazy, without energy, and fond of pleasure. Urged by a favourite, Yagello took up arms against his uncle Keistoot, Prince of Troka. At first, Keistoot was conqueror, and seized the Grand Principality. Then Yagello, by stratagem, seized Keistoot and his son Vitovte. Keistoot was put to death, and Vitovte fled to Prussia. There he raised the Germans against Yagello.

This civil war deprived the Lithuanian princes of means to injure Moscow. In short, Dmitri Ioannovitch, from early childhood, with armed hand had maintained himself on the throne. Is it thus astonishing that a prince like him was the first to make war on the Tartars?

Like his predecessors, Donskoi had also a struggle with Novgorod, and took money from that city to confirm peace. The cause of this campaign was robbery committed by Novgorodian volunteers on the Volga. The inhabitants of Pskov, too, continued war with the Germans. Donskoi, however, felt that for Russia at this epoch peace was absolutely necessary, and did all in his power to promote it.

The people thus rejoiced, especially when good understanding once more existed between Vladimir Andréevitch and his cousin Donskoi. All, indeed, hoped that the reign of this able prince would long continue; for Donskoi was then only thirty-nine years old. He, however, evidently did not recover from injuries received at Koolikov. At all events, he sickened and, to the deep grief of his subjects, died.

Then loud lamentation and mourning were heard. It is thus that Karamzine expresses himself concerning Dmitri Ioannovitch:—

‘Among the posterity of Yaroslav I., since Monomach and Alexander Nevski, no sovereign had more sincerely gained the love of his subjects than Dmitri Donskoi. Just, magnanimous, merciful as a ruler; brave, humane as a warrior;

a virtuous, pious man; a good husband and father, this heroic prince was the honour of his age, and his name adorns the page of history.'

Immortal hero! Thou hast passed away, but thy fame dieth not! The spot where thine ashes repose is hallowed ground; and thy grateful country still remembereth thee, as the bravest, the noblest, the best of her sons!

CHAPTER XXIII

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON 'DONSKOI'S' REIGN

THE father, the uncle, and grandfather of Dmitri 'Donskoi' (*i.e.* Ioann II., Simeon 'the Proud,' and Kaleeta) had gradually been preparing means for a struggle with the Tartars; and Donskoi knew how to make use of these means. The important events of his reign make it eclipse those of his predecessors. The victory of Koolikov made a lasting impression on the minds of contemporaries, and long remained in the memory of posterity. In fact, the conqueror of Mamai (along with Alexander Nevski) has obtained the most prominent place among the princes of north-eastern Russia.

Moreover, this victory raised the fallen spirit of the Russian people, urged them to maintain unity, inspired hope of speedy freedom, confirmed esteem for the dynasty of the Moscow princes. The pride and self-esteem of the haughty oppressors had received a fatal blow. So the Khans at last felt that only by a hasty, unexpected attack could they oblige Moscow to pay tribute.

An important result of Donskoi's victory was, besides, observed in his testament. He therein blessed his eldest surviving son, Vasil (Basil), as Grand Prince of Moscow and Vladimir, and named both his patrimony. Donskoi no longer feared rivals for his son, either in Tver or in Souzdal, and, above all, was not troubled by the thought that the Khan might perhaps give a yarleek to another prince.

According to annals, Dmitri Donskoi, in personal appearance, 'was powerful and manly, majestic in stature, heavy in body. His beard and hair were dark, his glance a miracle of expression.'

Donskoi's consort, Evdokia Dmitrievna of Souzdal, was a remarkably good and pious princess. She was canonised by the Russo-Greek Church as Saint Euphrosine. At the Moscow Kreml she founded the Cloister of the Ascension, to which she retired after her husband's death, and where she was buried. Her tomb is still in perfect preservation, and is greatly venerated by Russians. There is even a tradition that once candles lighted themselves near her last resting-place.

Donskoi and Evdokia had a numerous family. Their sons Simeon and Daniel died in infancy. The next, Vasili, became heir to the throne. Another son, named Youree, was a bad prince, quite unworthy of both his parents, as we shall subsequently see. A son, Peter, died of the pest in 1431. The remaining sons were André, John (who died a few days after his father), and Constantine, who became a monk of the Seemonov Cloister in Moscow.¹ Donskoi's four daughters were Sophia, Anastasia, Mary, and Anna. The two former married Russian princes, and Mary was consort of Simeon Loogvenias Olgerdovitch of Lithuania.

CHAPTER XXIV

REIGN OF VASILI DMITRIEVITCH, 1389-1425

DMITRI DONSKOI had made a solemn contract with his cousin, Vladimir Andréevitch 'the Brave,' of Serpoochov, in virtue of which the rank and throne of Grand Prince were to be hereditary in the line of the Moscow princes.

Accordingly, Dmitri's inheritance passed to his eldest surviving son, Vasili.

This young sovereign, like his great-grandfather Kaleeta, endeavoured to collect Russian land, and to augment his own possessions at the cost of other princes.

As we have already seen, Donskoi sent his son Vasili to the Horde, and there the prince was favourably received. But, on returning from it, in Lithuania, Vasili was arrested, and only liberated on condition that he would marry the Princess Sophia, daughter of Vitovte of Lithuania. Vitovte had been exiled by Yagello, and, of course, was his enemy. Thus a union with Vitovte's daughter might prove useful to Russia.

About a year after being placed on the throne of Vladimir by Tochtamuish, Vasili again went to the Horde, and there bought a yarleek for the possession of Nijni-Novgorod and Moorom.

Not long previously, Prince Boris Constantinovitch (Vasili's grand-uncle by the mother's side) had endeavoured to obtain that yarleek at the Horde. But, on the other hand, Vasili urged the Nijni-Novgorodian boyards to join his party. So, when the Moscow and Tartar ambassadors arrived at Nijni-Novgorod, the chief boyarine there, Vasili Roomianetz (bribed by the Moscovites), persuaded Prince Boris to let the ambassadors enter the town. Then Roomianetz and his associates gave up Boris to the Moscovites. In this wise, a considerable district was added to Moscow without bloodshed. Indeed, generally speaking, many

¹ According to Karamzine.

boyards of appanaged princes willingly quitted their service, to enter that of the wealthier princes of Moscow.

By the Khan's yarleek, Vasili had not only obtained Nijni-Novgorod and Moorom, but also Gorodetz, Meschera, and Taroos. However, Boris of Nijni-Novgorod had two nephews, sons of Dmitri Constantinovitch, consequently uncles, by the mother's side, of Vasili of Moscow. But the latter prince would not allow these relatives to reign quietly in Souzdal. They accordingly fled to the Horde, in order there to obtain the Khan's yarleek for their patrimony; and long did they trouble Vasili, along with the sons of Boris Constantinovitch. Even their posterity did not renounce their claims during the reign of Vasili's son. But during that of his grandson, all were obliged to enter the service of Moscow. Vasili also strove to acquire districts of Great Novgorod, in the region of the Northern Dvina; but the attempt was unsuccessful. On the other hand, however, Vasili confirmed his power in Pskov. The latter, from this epoch, began to receive its rulers from the choice of the Grand Prince of Moscow. In Tver, after the death of Donskoi's chief rival, Michael Alexandrovitch, remarkable for the art of organising his principality, civil discord broke out. Michael's heir, the Grand Prince of Tver, wished as usual to subdue his younger brothers. But Vasili of Moscow could not make use of the disturbance in Tver, from circumstances at the Tartar Horde and in Lithuania.

Towards the close of the fourteenth century, Asia experienced a second time the epoch of Tschingis-Khan. Timoor, or Tamerlan, son of a petty Tschagataisk prince, began his career by robbery and plundering on a small scale; and, in 1371, ruled over a considerable tract of land at the Caspian Sea, and extending to Manjooria. To him, Tochtamuish was indebted for the throne of the Golden Horde. But Tochtamuish was ungrateful, and armed himself against Tamerlan. Tochtamuish was, however, defeated, and obliged to flee to the forests of Bulgaria. As for Tamerlan, he entered Russia, took Eletz (government of Orel), captured its prince, and devastated the neighbouring country. But this attack was not unexpected; Vasili Dmitrievitch had time to prepare for it. He accordingly assembled a large force, and repaired to the boundaries of his principality, on the banks of the Oka. There he in vain awaited the enemy. After remaining fifteen days in the districts of Riazane, and devastating both banks of the Don, Tamerlan retired from Russia, terrified, as annalists affirm, by a vision or dream.

This took place on August 26, 1395, when the Moscovites met the Vladimirski image of the Blessed Virgin, transported from Vladimir to Moscow. The said image is still carefully preserved at the Moscow Kreml, as an object of the greatest veneration; and the Russo-Greek Church, till this day, annually

celebrates the 26th of August (the day of Saints Adrian and Natalia) as the anniversary of a great deliverance. Then a procession takes place, during which the clergy hold aloft crosses. The locality where the Moscovites met the Vladimirski image is still named the Srétenka, from *srētenie*, a meeting.

Karamzine, however, is in no wise tinged with the superstition which generally distinguishes his countrymen. He accordingly affirms that probably Tamerlan withdrew from Russia, not because he had seen a mysterious vision of a woman's figure, said to be that of the Virgin, holding aloft the Holy Cross, and defying him to advance further, but simply because the autumn was at hand, when it was difficult, if not impossible, to continue a campaign on account of bad roads.

Subsequent to Tamerlan's invasion, the Golden Horde was in no wise formidable to Russia. So much was this the case, that Vasili did not any longer think of going there himself to do homage. He did not even send his ambassadors to do so. When tribute was demanded, he replied that his principality was poorly peopled, and that none were left from whom to take tribute. Thus, what would previously have been given to the Tartars, now went into the prince's own coffers. Finally, the very intercourse between the Tartars and Russians had changed. The latter even allowed themselves to laugh at ambassadors and merchants from the Horde, in revenge for their previous bad treatment.

At this epoch, all affairs at the Horde were administered by an old Moorza (Prince) Edigei, the conqueror of Vitovte, on the banks of the Vorskla. Edigei, however, had formerly only been a subordinate individual. He long winked at the contempt of the Moscow princes towards their recent oppressors, but at last he resolved to show that he was still alive. However, like Tochtamuish, Edigei did not openly dare to attack Moscow. He only hoped to succeed by craft. Accordingly, in 1408, he made Vasili understand that the Khan, with his whole horde, was marching against Lithuania, while Edigei, in unusual speed, was on his way to Moscow. Vasili Dmitrievitch, taken unawares, left Moscow to the defence of his brothers, and their second cousin, Vladimir Andréévitch 'the Brave.' The Grand Prince himself then went to Kostroma. Edigei thereupon besieged the capital, and sent his detachments to devastate other regions of the principality. He meanwhile hoped to winter before the city, and to force it to capitulate from famine. A fierce, bloody struggle was, during this interval, going on at the town walls. But, at the same time, Edigei received bad news from the Horde. There revolt had broken out. Thus he was forced to retire. For so doing, he levied a tribute of three thousand roubles on the Moscovites. They, however, did not know that he was obliged to retreat, although the Khan Boolat-Saltan's commander of the forces. While retiring, Edegei everywhere caused fearful devastation in Russia.

1410—Death
of Vladimir
'the Brave.'

Soon after this epoch, Russia lost its truest, best defender by the death of Vladimir Andréévitch, whose valour at Koolikov had caused him to be surnamed 'Donskoi' and 'The Brave.'

The weakened Tartar Horde could now only injure Russia by sudden, unexpected attacks. But Lithuania was a much more dangerous enemy; for it aimed at permanent conquest.

Yagello of Lithuania was at this period threatened by the German order, under whose protection Prince Vitovte had placed himself. But Yagello finally made peace with his cousin Vitovte.

An important question was meanwhile agitating Eastern Europe. In other words, who was to be husband of Hedwige, the young Polish Queen, daughter of King Louis? The Polish nobles obliged Hedwige to bestow her hand on Yagello of Lithuania, because he had promised to embrace the Romish faith, along with all the Lithuanian people, and to unite his own domains, *i.e.* Lithuania and the Russian provinces, permanently to Poland. Yagello kept his promise, and obliged the Lithuanians who had not yet joined the Russo-Greek Church to accept the religion of Rome. Thus, two antagonistic beliefs now existed in the west, which hindered Lithuanian Russia from blending with Poland, although Yagello and his successors earnestly desired to do so. But if Yagello and the Poles endeavoured to unite Lithuania to Poland, the Lithuanians themselves were in no wise disposed to lose their independence. They therefore upheld the plans of Vitovte. He forced Yagello to acknowledge him Prince of Lithuania, dependent on Poland. That position, however, soon became onerous to Vitovte, as he longed for an independent kingly crown. Vitovte, in fact, had two aims—first, to become King of Lithuania, and second, to augment his possessions at the expense of Russian districts, although his own daughter Sophia was married to Vasili Dmitriévitch of Moscow.

In Smolensk, at that epoch, there was civil discord in consequence of the general desire of Grand Princes to be served by poorer petty princes. Vitovte made use of these circumstances, and, by stratagem, seized Smolensk, under pretext of being mediator between the contending parties. Youree, the eldest Prince of Smolensk, aided by Oleg, Grand Prince of Riazane, took Smolensk from Vitovte, but not for a lengthened period. When Youree went to Moscow, to ask the help of Vasili Dmitriévitch, Vitovte again took Smolensk entirely, aided by the boyards there.

'The last Prince of Smolensk,' says Ilovaiski (p. 91), 'was Youree Sviatoslavitch, singularly unpopular with his subjects on account of his cruelty. Even after losing his principality, he did not alter his fierce habits, and especially stained his memory by one wicked act. Vasili Dmitriévitch made Youree viceroy at the town of Torjok (government of Tver). At the same time one of

Youree's friends, an appanaged Prince of Smolensk, Simeon Viazemski, established himself at Torjok also. Viazemski's consort Julianna was remarkable at once by her extreme beauty and virtue. Youree was charmed with her; but, as all his attentions only met with decided opposition, he was highly incensed. He then ordered the unhappy princess to be cut in pieces and thrown into the river. Her husband was put to death also, by Youree's orders. Subsequently, Youree went to the Tartar Horde, roved about for some time in the southern Steppes, and finally terminated his life in a monastery of Riazane.'

Vitovte of Lithuania, not content with Smolensk, next turned his ambitious views towards Novgorod the Great, and even towards Moscow itself. He protected the exiled Khan Tochtamuish, and promised to restore him the Golden Horde, if he aided in subduing Moscow. But the attempt to reinstate Tochtamuish was unsuccessful, for in 1399 he was completely defeated by Edigei on the banks of the Vorskla. Vitovte rested after this defeat, and then attacked the districts of Pskov. Its inhabitants and the Novgorodians thereupon sent to Moscow for aid, and Vasili Dmitrievitch declared war on his father-in-law. Three times did the Moscovite forces march against the Lithuanians, but no decided battle took place, as both Vitovte and Vasili were remarkably cautious. In this wise, Vitovte was deterred from further attempts at conquest in Eastern Russia. The river Vogra, near which both these princes met for the last time, was designated as the boundary between Lithuania and Russia. This, however, was also the last time that Lithuanian boundaries were extended in Russian districts.

The reign of Vasili Dmitrievitch was remarkable for several physical calamities, such as a pestilential illness, famine, and great cold. Thousands consequently perished. Those who remained suffered, languished, grieved, and in despair imagined that the end of all things had come. Amid this general depression, Vasili Dmitrievitch passed away.

1425—Death
of Vasili
Dmitrievitch.

Karamzine remarks that although, in some respects, Vasili was a good sovereign, he had, notwithstanding, none of the heroic magnanimity which shone so remarkably in the great Donskoi. Vasili Dmitrievitch died in 1425. His chief councillors were, first, the boyarine Feodor Andréevitch Koshka, and then his son Ivan.

Vasili Dmitrievitch and Sophia Vitovtovna of Lithuania had a numerous family, four of whom (sons) died in early youth. They were Youree, Ioann, Daniel, and Simeon. Another son, Vasili, inherited the throne. Anne, daughter of Vasili Dmitrievitch and Sophia, was married to the Emperor John Paleologus.

Vasili's remaining daughters were Mary, Vasilissa, and a third, whose name is not recorded. They married Russian princes.

CHAPTER XXV

REIGN OF VASILI II. (VASILIEVITCH), 1425-1462

VASILI DMITRIEVITCH left a son, Vasili, only ten years old, under the guardianship of his mother, Sophia Vitovtovna of Lithuania.

Vasili Vasilievitch had no particularly brilliant characteristics as a sovereign. His reign is, besides, memorable for a succession of misfortunes—civil war, pestilential illness, invasions of the Lithuanians and Tartars.

Until this epoch there had not yet been civil discord among the Princes of Moscow. We have already seen that Donskoi's cousin, Vladimir Andréevitch, without a struggle, waived his rights of seniority to Vasili Dmitrievitch. But Vladimir was only the cousin of Donskoi. Furthermore, Vladimir could not claim the throne by right of inheritance, seeing that his father had not been Grand Prince of Moscow and Vladimir. Vasili Dmitrievitch, however, had a brother Youree, Prince of Zvenegorod (government of Moscow) and Galitch (government of Kostroma). Youree in no wise wished to submit to the new law by which a son inherited the throne of his father. In spite of Youree's opposition, the young Vasili Vasilievitch was, notwithstanding, acknowledged Grand Prince of Moscow; and Youree had not power enough to dethrone him. But, in order to avoid civil war, both uncle and nephew consented to go to the Tartar Horde, and there to accept the Khan Ooloo-Machmet's decision. At the Horde, thanks to the artifice of a Moscow boyarine—Ivan Dmitrievitch Vsevoljski—the Khan declared that Vasili should be Grand Prince; and Youree was forced to submit. But he was discontented; and, on returning to his own principality, he determined to take the first opportunity to struggle with his nephew. That opportunity soon occurred.

Vasili, however, repaid Vsevoljski with ingratitude. The young prince had promised to marry Vsevoljski's daughter. But that displeased the arrogant Sophia Vitovtovna (Vasili's mother), who had already chosen another bride for her son. She was a Russian princess—Maria Yaroslavna of Borovsk (government of Kalouga), granddaughter of the never-to-be-forgotten Vladimir Andréevitch the Brave. Vsevoljski was furious on seeing his plans thwarted. He immediately quitted Moscow, entered the service of Youree Dmitrievitch, and endeavoured to excite his enmity to his nephew Vasili. Meanwhile, this was

yet more augmented by an insult offered to Youree's sons, Vasili, surnamed 'Kosoi' (the Squinter), and Dmitri Shemiaka, at the wedding-feast of their cousin Vasili Vasilievitch of Moscow. There an old boyarine, Peter Constantinovitch, viceroy of Rostov, remarked that Kosoi wore a belt adorned with gold and precious stones. The said belt had been given along with the outfit of Donskoi's consort, Evdokia Dmitrievna, but had been stolen at the time of the wedding by the teesiatzki Veliamenov and replaced by another belt. The costly ornament then passed from hand to hand, sometimes by inheritance, sometimes along with the outfit of brides, till it at length came to the possession of Vasili Kosoi. He is said to have received the belt from his future father-in-law, Vsevolovski. The boyarine, who recognised the belt, told the Grand Princess Dowager, Sophia Vitovtovna, what had occurred. Whereupon the arrogant, foolish woman flew into a passion, rushed towards Kosoi, and snatched the belt from him in presence of the whole court. Kosoi and his brother Dmitri Shemiaka, in high indignation, immediately quitted the banquet, and vowed to avenge this affront.

Thus it was that a trivial quarrel, raised by Sophia Vitovtovna, soon degenerated into civil war, for which Vasili Vasilievitch was in no wise prepared. He had but newly celebrated his wedding, and was forced to march against his uncle with only a small army. It was, besides, formed of hastily summoned and badly organised followers. So Vasili was completely defeated and made prisoner. Youree then went to Moscow and took possession of the throne. He, however, according to the advice of his favourite, the boyarine Morozov, gave Vasili Kolomna as an appanage. But no sooner did Vasili reach that town, than he was joined by many princes, boyards, and courtiers, 'because they were unaccustomed to serve the Prince of Galitch,' according to the testimony of annals. The military, too, had become favourable to the new law, in virtue of which the throne was to pass from father to son.

During this interval, on seeing Vasili surrounded by so many followers, and having no hope of overcoming them, Kosoi and his brother Shemiaka, in a fit of malice, put the boyarine Morozov to death for advising their father to liberate Vasili and to give him an appanage. In order to escape from Youree's anger, the murderers then left Moscow. Soon afterwards Youree was abandoned by all. So he summoned Vasili again to take possession of the throne, and himself set out for Galitch, accompanied only by five followers. With Vasili, Youree concluded a treaty, by which he promised not to receive his sons Kosoi and Shemiaka, and to acknowledge Vasili as senior Prince. Vasili believed this, and sent forces against Kosoi and Shemiaka. They, however, beat the Moscovites. Moreover, Vasili found out that he had been betrayed; for Youree did not keep

his word. He sent aid to Kosoi and Shemiaka. Vasili then began war again with his uncle. Vasili was a second time defeated. He was obliged to flee from Moscow, and was about to repair to the Horde when he received news that Youree had suddenly died, and that his son, Vasili Kosoi, occupied the throne of Moscow. Kosoi was, notwithstanding, unable long to maintain his position, and was abandoned even by his own brothers, Shemiaka and Dmitri Krasne (*i.e.* the Beautiful). Deprived of the throne and of his appanage Zvenegorod, Kosoi, however, did not cease to make war on Vasili and to devastate his districts. At length Kosoi was defeated, made prisoner, and had his eyes put out. During this civil war three remaining sons of Dmitri Donskoi died. Two were childless, but the third, André, left two sons, Ivan, Prince of Mojaïsk, and Michael, Prince of Viria (government of Moscow).

The struggle between the Grand Prince Vasili and his cousins was again renewed on account of the Tartars. In 1437 the Khan Ooloo-Machmet was expelled from the Golden Horde by his brother. Ooloo-Machmet then took possession of Kazane, devastated by Russian incursions, there founded a town on a new spot, and in 1439 appeared before Moscow. The Grand Prince did not immediately succeed in assembling forces, and retired beyond the Volga. The Tartars, meanwhile, remained ten days before Moscow. They could not take it, but, at all events, they did much mischief. In 1445 Ooloo-Machmet again appeared at the Russian frontiers. The Grand Prince marched against the Tartars with a small force, as the other princes had not yet been able to collect warriors. Near Souzdal Vasili was defeated, made prisoner, and carried off to Kazane. The Tartars did not advance further, and the Khan sent an ambassador to Shemiaka, who received him with great honour. Shemiaka sent his own ambassador along with that of the Tartars, in order to persuade Ooloo-Machmet not to liberate Vasili. But, as the ambassadors were long in appearing at Kazane, the Khan thought that Shemiaka had killed the Tartar ambassador. Ooloo-Machmet, meanwhile, consented to liberate Vasili for a ransom. So Vasili returned. He was accompanied by many Tartars, whom he took into his service. These unpopular guests caused discontent against Vasili. So, likewise, did the heavy taxes levied to pay his ransom to the Khan. Shemiaka took advantage of these unfavourable circumstances. He held intercourse with Prince Boris of Tver and Ivan Andréévitch of Mojaïsk, told them that Vasili intended to cede all Moscow to the Khan, and then to take possession of Tver. These princes believed the report, and consented to act along with Shemiaka against Vasili.

In 1446 the conspirators were informed that Vasili had gone to the Trinity Cloister to give thanks for his liberation from captivity. Shemiaka and the

1439—Ooloo-Machmet invades Moscow.

1445.

1446.

Prince of Mojaïsk, during the night of February 12, suddenly took possession of Moscow, seized the mother and consort of the Grand Prince, arrested the boyards faithful to Vasili, and finally proceeded to the Trinity Cloister accompanied by a large number of armed followers. But Vasili, meanwhile, had been warned of his danger. He sent in advance a vanguard to occupy a neighbouring hill. Ivan of Mojaïsk, however, concealed part of his militia in sledges covered with straw mats. So he thus deceived the guards and took possession of the monastery. It was in vain that Vasili sought refuge in church, at the tomb of Saint Sergius. There the unhappy prince was seized by force, brought to Moscow, and deprived of his sight. Hence his surname 'The Blind.' Vasili was next sent to Ooglicht. Shemiaka loaded his cousin with reproaches for having¹⁴⁴⁶ brought Tartars to Russia, and also for putting out Kosoi's eyes.

Shemiaka then proclaimed himself Grand Prince. But he could not long maintain his position, as he had few partisans. The greater number remained on Vasili's side. Some of Vasili's adherents had fled to Lithuania. Among them were several princes—Vasili Yaroslavitch of Serpoohov (brother of Vasili's consort), Prince Streega Obalenski, Feodor Basenok, Kapolovski, etc. etc. They were joined by two Tartar princes, also favourable to Vasili (Kasim and his brother).

Shemiaka, urged by the metropolitan Jonas, liberated Vasili, and gave him Vologda as an appanage, but made him swear by oath that he would never again aspire to the Grand Princely throne. The memory of Prince Dmitri Youreevitch Shemiaka is, in fact, loaded with infamy. So much is this the case, that, till this day, a proverbial expression in Russ is: 'Unjust like Shemiaka,' or 'Shemiaka's judgment,' *i.e.* injustice.

But, as for Vasili's partisans, they only awaited his freedom. They flocked to him in crowds. Cyril, Abbot of Bielo-ozero monastery, absolved the prince from his oath given to Shemiaka; and Vasili, with his followers, advanced to Tver. Its prince, Boris Alexandrovitch, promised aid on condition that Vasili would affiancé his son and heir Ivan, then only seven years old, to Mary, daughter of Boris. Vasili consented to the proposal. Joined by forces from Tver, he then marched onwards against Shemiaka in Moscow. On the other side, from Lithuania, came Prince Vasili Yaroslavitch of Serpoohov, along with his companions in exile. Shemiaka and Ivan of Mojaïsk also marched against Vasili. But, during their absence, Vasili's forces, on Christmas Eve, entered Moscow by its gate, which had been left open for a princess going to matins. When Shemiaka heard that he had lost the capital, he did not fight a battle, but made peace with Vasili.¹⁴⁴⁷ Shemiaka then renounced the throne and even some of his districts.

But permanent peace was not, after all, concluded ; for Shemiaka everywhere raised sedition against Vasili. So the latter appealed to the judgment of the clergy. They then sent an epistle to Shemiaka. The said epistle is remarkable, because in it the clergy favoured the new law of hereditary succession to the throne. They, besides, reproached Shemiaka's father, Youree, for wishing to reign instead of his nephew. They furthermore threatened Shemiaka with anathema if he refused to perform the promises made to Vasili.

Shemiaka, however, was deaf to all remonstrance, and several times renewed war with his cousin. At length Shemiaka was defeated by the Moscovites and Tartars near Galitch (1450). He was deprived of his appanage, Galitch (government of Kostroma), and fled to Novgorod the Great, whence he still continued to attack regions belonging to the Moscovite principality. But finally, in 1453, Shemiaka died in Novgorod, by poison sent from Moscow. The clerk who brought news to that city of Shemiaka's decease was raised to the rank of secretary. Shemiaka's son Ivan went to Lithuania, where he received a district.

1453—Death
of Shemiaka.

But, besides Shemiaka, there were yet two other appanaged princes of whom Vasili wished to get quit. The first was Ivan of Mojaïsk, who had twice disobeyed the metropolitan by refusing to aid the Grand Prince against the Tartars. The second prince objectionable to Vasili was his own brother-in-law, Vasili Yaroslavitch of Serpoohov. For some sedition, unknown to us, Vasili was arrested, shut up in prison, disinherited, and his district added to Moscow.

Shemiaka's ally, Ivan of Mojaïsk, was unable to struggle with Moscow ; so he fled to Lithuania, and forfeited his district, which was likewise annexed to Moscow. Amongst the appanages of that principality there yet remained only one independent. It was Vireea, where reigned Michael Andréévitch. But he was so quiet that he excited no suspicion of the Grand Prince. Thus the civil discord among the posterity of Kaleeta terminated. Accordingly, Vasili Vasiliévitch, although distinguished by no particular talents as a sovereign, and although latterly deprived of sight, yet retained the inheritance of his fathers, added new districts to it, and confirmed the law of supreme power invested in one individual.

At the epoch of civil discord among the posterity of Kaleeta, Riazane and Tver, the rival principalities of Moscow, were so enfeebled that they could do but little harm. Their princes joined Moscow or Lithuania, whichever was more powerful. When the advancement of Moscow was hindered by civil war among Kaleeta's posterity, the Prince of Riazane formed alliance with Vitovte of Lithuania. But after Vitovte's death, and when Lithuania was also enfeebled by civil discord, Ivan Feodorovitch of Riazane joined Moscow. When dying, he confided his little son to the Grand Prince Vasili. The latter brought the boy

and his infant sister to Moscow. To Riazane and other towns viceroys were sent. The Prince of Tver also, after hesitating between alliance with Moscow or Lithuania, decided in favour of Vasili.

Meanwhile, as the Princes of Tver and Riazane were undecided with whom to conclude alliance, Great Novgorod wished, as usual, to be independent. Its citizens considered the victor as their prince, but also sheltered the vanquished, which could not please both parties. We have already seen that the Novgorodians retained Shemiaka even till his death, in spite of the metropolitan Jonah's admonition to have no intercourse with one excommunicated. The Novgorodians might thus expect Vasili's vengeance: and it followed them. For in 1456 he sent troops against Novgorod. His voevodes—Princes Streega Obalenski and Feodor Basenok—defeated the Novgorodians, and forced them to purchase peace at the rate of ten thousand roubles. But on this occasion the Grand Prince was not content with money alone. He obliged the Novgorodians no longer to issue documents in the popular assembly without his special consent or that of his representative. He also obliged them to accept his seal, and to swear that they would undertake nothing against him. In Pskov the Grand Prince's power was still more established.

Vasili the Blind, in fact, finally triumphed over the appanaged princes, after a struggle with them, prolonged for the space of twenty years. He found good aid in the clergy, the boyards, and even in the Tartars. The population of Moscow was also on his side, and favoured the direct succession to the throne, from father to son, rather than the old system which had occasioned so much contest and civil war.

Among events which occurred in the Church during the reign of Vasili the Blind, we must class the Ecclesiastical Assembly at Florence. There the clergy met, with the project of uniting the Eastern and Western Churches. Isidore—a Greek—then Russian metropolitan, went to the assembly and accepted the so-called 'Florentine Union.' But on returning to Moscow, Isidore began publicly to pray for the Pope, instead of the Eastern Patriarch. Vasili ordered Isidore to be arrested and judged. Isidore saved himself by flight, and died a cardinal in Rome. He was the last Greek elected as a Russian metropolitan. His successor, 1440. Jonah, was nominated by an assembly of Russian archbishops.

Vasili the Blind nearly abolished the custom of dividing the Moscovite principality among the posterity of Kalesta. But, before death, Vasili, as usual, assigned districts for his younger sons. These districts were, however, insignificant compared with the inheritance of the eldest son, Ioann, then of age, and his father's co-operator in affairs of administration. To Ioann also was assigned the

town of Vladimir, but without any difference from the towns of the Moscovite principality.

The circumstances which aided the advancement of Moscow were as follows:—

1st. Its favourable central geographical position—far removed from inward enemies.

2nd. The population, distinguished by a bold, energetic, elastic disposition, capable of enduring great hardships.

3rd. A succession of gifted sovereigns on the throne of Moscow; their able, persevering policy, calculating activity, and good internal administration.

4th. The protection and aid of the Golden Horde.

5th. The zealous support of the clergy and the boyards.

6th. The small number of the Grand Princely family, at least compared with other branches of Rurik's posterity, and the absence of civil discord till the reign of Vasili the Blind.

7th. Popular sympathy with the new law of inheritance, or, in other words, that the throne should pass from father to son, instead of the old law which accorded seniority to the eldest prince of the dynasty.

8th. The division and weakness of neighbouring principalities, as well as the abolition of popular assemblies in the towns of Northern Russia.

CHAPTER XXVI

CONCLUDING EVENTS OF VASILY'S REIGN—HIS DEATH, 1462

LITHUANIA could not hinder Vasili from establishing his power in Riazane, Novgorod, and Pskov. The once formidable Vitovte died in 1430. Yagello's brother, Svidrigailo Olgerdovitch, was proclaimed Grand Prince of Lithuania. Svidrigailo, at all costs, wished to restore Lithuania's independence of Poland. Civil war accordingly broke out between the brothers. The Poles chose a rival to Svidrigailo in the person of Vitovte's brother, Sigismund Keistootovitch, who consented to acknowledge his dependence on the Polish crown. Consequently there was division. Lithuania took the part of Sigismund. The Russian districts adhered to Svidrigailo, and the civil discord between them did not terminate. Yagello died in 1434, and the Poles elected his son, Vladislav III., as their King. He also afterwards ascended the throne of Hungary. In Lithuania the cruel, immoral Sigismund was killed in consequence of a conspiracy, and, in his stead, the Poles sent the young Casimir Yagellovitch as viceroy of Poland. But the Lithuanians proclaimed him Grand Prince. In 1444 Vladislav, King of Poland

and Hungary, fell in battle at Varna, hence his surname 'The Varnenian.' Vladislav's death again caused the union of Lithuania and Poland. The battle of Varna was between the Poles and Turks. The Poles chose Casimir as their King. Casimir's position was, however, very difficult, between the desire of the Poles to acquire some Lithuanian districts (such as Volhynia, Podolia, etc. etc.), and the efforts of the Lithuanians to preserve the integrity of their possessions, as well as their independence of Poland. All this frequently led to open ruptures; and it required much exertion on Casimir's part to prevent bloodshed. His attention was, besides, drawn towards the west by the German order. Of course, under such circumstances, Lithuania could not prevent Vasili the Blind from extending the principality of Moscow, and from subduing neighbouring princes. Vasili even thought of striking a decisive blow at the Great Novgorod. He was, however, dissuaded from doing so by the Novgorodian metropolitan, Jonah, who was universally esteemed. Jonah urged Vasili rather to turn his attention towards the Tartars, whose constant inroads devastated Russia.

KAZANE AND THE CRIMEA

During the reign of Vasili the Blind occurred the division of the Kiptschaksk monarchy. From the Golden Horde proceeded two vast territories—Kazane and the Crimea.

The founder of the empire of Kazane was the same Ooloo-Machmet who, as we have already mentioned, assigned the throne of Moscow to Vasili Vasilievitch. When Ooloo was expelled from Serai, he sought refuge in Moscovite districts; but the Grand Prince sent forces against him. Then it was that Ooloo retired to the ancient Bulgaria, and on the banks of the Volga renewed the former fortress of Kazane ruined by the Russians. However, according to other statements, Kazane was rebuilt by Ooloo's son Machmootek. At all events, the Tartars there gradually became more numerous and powerful. They, besides, began to domineer over the neighbouring races of the Mordvi, the Tscheremisi, the Kama Bulgarians, and others (1440). Aided by trade and an advantageous position, Kazane soon grew into a very rich capital. The Kazane Tartars frequently invaded Russia, and not a little blood was shed before these powerful enemies were subdued.

But still stronger than the empire of Kazane was that of the Crimean Horde. It was formed of Tartar encampments in the Crimea and on the northern shores of the Black Sea. There was established the dynasty of the Girees. The first Khan of that race was Azi-Giree—according to some, descended from Tochtamuish. The Crimean Tartars, during the space of three hundred years, devastated Russia by sudden, ruinous invasions. Besides, from the Golden Horde, during the

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there not unfrequently issued illustrious Moorzas (princes) and sons of Khans, who entered the service of Russia. For the maintenance of these princes, or 'in order to feed them'—according to the expression of the epoch—they often received large estates or even whole towns. It was the duty of the said princes to guard the Russian frontiers, and, at the first summons, to appear for help. By placing that militia at the south-eastern frontiers of Russia, the Russians tried, through aid of the Tartars, to prevent incursions of their countrymen. On the banks of the Oka, for example, there even appeared a separate khanate—the Kazeemooski, named from Kazeem, a Tartar Khan's son in the Russian service, and in a state of feudatory dependence on Moscow.

THE COSSACKS

1444.

During the reign of Vasili the Blind, annals, for the first time, make mention of the Cossacks, *i.e.* those of Riazane. Thus were designated lightly armed forces, which served in southern frontier towns in order to guard the boundaries, or, in other words, to observe the movements of the Tartars from the direction of the Steppes. These guardians were specially designated 'Town Cossacks.' Ilovaiski (p. 99) states that the term of 'Cossack' also existed among the Tartars. At the Horde the lower classes of armies were called 'Cossacks.' Noblemen were 'Uhlands,' and the highest were 'Moorzas' (princes).

According to Karamzine, the word 'Cossack' signifies a voluntary, a horse-man, a bold adventurer, derived from the country of the Kazachia, between the Black and the Caspian Seas, and the inhabitants, the Kazagi. The Torki and Berendei, then named Tscherkessi, were also called Kasogi and Kozaki. Many of the Cossacks established themselves in islands of the Dnieper, surrounded by high rocks and impenetrable marshes, lived there as free individuals, occupied only with war and plunder. Unrestrained, unmarried life, the hope of obtaining booty, but especially the unsettled state of the government then existing, induced many to flee from northern Russia and to join the company of Cossacks.

Their numbers were likewise augmented by many discontented individuals, particularly runaway bondmen, or those obliged to flee from their own country.

'By the name of Cossacks,' says Soloviev (p. 74), 'our ancestors designated homeless individuals without family, forced to maintain themselves by work among strangers. Thus it was that Cossack signified a labourer in opposition to the regular rural population possessing their own dwellings and property.'

The Cossacks were zealous defenders of the Russo-Greek faith, and formed a sort of Christian Military Republic. Its affairs were decided by a General

Assembly, and the Cossacks themselves chose their chief or ataman. The Cossacks of the Steppes, or Voluntaries, usually established themselves on the banks of rivers abounding with fish. Very often the Cossacks were obliged to have fierce encounters with neighbouring marauders, and sometimes too, along with them, made incursions on Moscovite and Polish territories. In general, the Cossacks never lost an opportunity of plundering caravans, importing goods to Russia, or exporting them from it. When the Tartar Horde grew weaker, and was further removed from Russian frontiers, the Cossacks became more numerous and powerful. During the sixteenth century the Cossacks occupied the whole of southern Russian Steppes, and were divided into two principal branches, *i.e.* those of the Don, and the Little Russian or Dnieper Cossacks. The latter, who dwelt beyond the rapids of the Dnieper, were especially designated 'Zaporogski' (from *za*, beyond, and *porog*, a rapid). The Don Cossacks were chiefly formed of population from the east, *i.e.* of Moscovite Russians. The Little Russian Cossacks included many from the south-west of Lithuania.

The Cossacks formed the best defence of Russia from the attacks of the Crimea, Lithuania, and Turkey. King Sigismund I. of Poland took the Cossacks under his special protection, granted them certain privileges, and land along the Dnieper. Stephen Batory, too, bestowed on the Cossack Hetman a kingly standard, a staff of command, a mace, and a special seal.

The importance of the Cossacks, as defenders of Russian frontiers, induced the princes of northern Russia to form separate regiments of Cossacks. A similar regiment was organised in Riazane as a principality which, more than others, had suffered from invasions of the Tartars. In Kursk, and also on the Don, wide tracts of land were put apart to which youths and Cossacks were sent, in order to defend the frontiers. Many of the Zaporog Cossacks joined those of the Don, and built the town of Tscherkask. Gradually the number of the Don Cossacks increased. Ioann IV. transferred many of them to the Terek, where they were named Grebenski Cossacks. Hence, at the epoch of Anarchy, or the so-called 'troublous times' of Russian history, when the false Dmitries endeavoured to claim the throne, we meet with Cossacks of the Volga, of the Ural, and Azoph.

Vasili the Blind died in 1462. He was succeeded by his eldest (surviving) son, Ioann. The first, Youree, had died in infancy.

1462—Death
of Vasili the
Blind.

Dmitri Donskoi was the first who gave the example of blessing his son as Grand Prince of Vladimir, because he feared no opposition either from Tver or from Nijni-Novgorod. Vasili Dmitrievitch did not dare to name his son Prince of Vladimir, as he (Vasili) knew that his brother Youree would lay claim to it.

Vasili the Blind not only blessed his eldest son as heir to the throne, but considered Vladimir inseparable from Moscow. Besides Ioann, Vasili the Blind left four other sons, Youree, André the elder, Boris, André the younger. Ioann, however, had the means of keeping his brothers in complete subordination, because he was so much richer than they were. Vasili's consort was Maria Yaroslavna of Borovsk (government of Kalouga), granddaughter of Vladimir Andréévitch the Brave. Anne, or Agrippina, youngest daughter of Vasili Vasilievitch, married a Prince of Riazane, Vasili Ioannovitch.

CHAPTER XXVII

INTERNAL CONDITION OF RUSSIA, FROM THE HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH TILL THE HALF OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

BATI—so famous in Russian annals—had accomplished great acts, although they were terrible to the vanquished. In other words, he overthrew the power of Russia, and rendered it subject to the Tartar Khans. The consequences of achievements so remarkable were ruinous to the Russians. Their blood flowed in streams. Towns and villages were burned to the ground. Agriculture and industry fell to decay. The population diminished. The manners of the people became coarse and rude. Moral advancement was arrested. Russian princes became vassals and slaves of Tartar Khans. The vanquished were forced to go to distant desert steppes of Asia to the haughty conquerors, to bow down before them, to offer them gifts watered with the tears and blood of the people.

But, as in Western Europe the dawn of civilisation appeared after the Crusades, and visible efforts were made to advance what was great, noble, and useful, so also Russia, though groaning under the chains of slavery, summoned up every effort not to lose existence.

It is, however, in no wise wonderful that Russia was thus arrested in all progress and civilisation, and remained behind the nations of Western Europe, till the genius of Peter the Great inspired his native country with new life and new force.

From the half of the thirteenth till the half of the fifteenth century one important circumstance was the division of Russia into eastern and western states. The western, worn out by incessant civil discord, and devastated by roving hordes, could not retain its independence, at length submitted to Lithuania, and, along with it, was united to Poland.¹

¹ The kingdom of Galicia, also, immediately submitted to Poland.

North-eastern Russia, notwithstanding, had more vigour. It had not long previously appeared on the stage of history, and consequently could better maintain its independence than the west. Moreover, the gradual formation of north-eastern Russia into one state was also favoured by circumstances. Bati's invasion was not repeated. The Tartars established themselves at a distance. The Khans, who received tribute and gifts from Russian princes, took no part in the internal administration of Russia, and did not even understand what happened there. At the same time, in order to encourage civil discord among the Russian princes, and thereby to weaken them, the Khan always most favoured those who paid him best, although he did not foresee that the richest were exactly the most dangerous to himself. Towards the west there were also no formidable enemies to north-eastern Russia. Lithuania did not advance further than Hungary, could conquer neither Novgorod nor Pskov, because hindered by the German order, civil discord, and embarrassing intercourse with Poland. Finally, north-eastern Russia was singularly favoured by possessing energetic princes, such as Yaroslav Vsevolodovitch and his successors, one and all of whom had a single aim—in other words, to strengthen their own power, and to keep neighbouring princes in subjection. In this wise, previous relatives were henceforth considered merely as servants.

In ancient south-western Russia we have already seen that a whole race of princes administered land in common, and changed districts according to seniority. In north-eastern Russia, although Vladimir and its districts were considered the special property of the Grand Principality, the reigning Grand Prince no longer lived there. In fact, each prince occupied his own district, such as Tver, Moscow, etc. In ancient times, the princely line preserved its integrity, the eldest alone being Grand Prince. Subsequently, that integrity disappeared, and there were several Grand Princes reigning at the same period, such as those of Moscow, Tver, Riazane, Nijni-Novgorod. In ancient times also, as we have already seen, a prince was not succeeded by his eldest son, but by the eldest of the dynasty; and if others endeavoured to dispute this succession, they met with universal disapprobation.

But in north-eastern Russia that law of inheritance fell into disuse. Nephews took the principality of Vladimir from uncles. Younger brothers deprived elder princes of seniority. Indeed, princes finally endeavoured to leave their possessions directly to sons, instead of brothers or the eldest surviving relatives. Of course, many disputed this new regulation; for instance, the long struggle between Youree Dmitrievitch and his sons with Vasili the Blind. But the clergy were against Youree. They compared his sin with that

of Adam, who wished to be the equal of God! Thus the new law of inheritance was gradually established. We now know that a sovereign is succeeded by his son; but, in the fifteenth century, that law was not yet confirmed in Russia. Accordingly, in order to ensure the direct succession of a son, a Grand Prince was himself obliged to act decidedly. We thus see how Vasili the Blind, even during his life, entitled his eldest son Ioann Grand Prince, and added his name also to state documents.

From the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries many documents, in form of testaments and conventions, still remain. In them we remark the gradual change in the intercourse between relatives of the princely line. The younger are, however, enjoined to respect, to fear the elder, and also to serve them. The elder, in turn, are obliged 'to feed the younger while in service.' Younger appanaged princes had no right to hold direct communication with the Khan, or 'to know the Horde,' according to the expression then in use. In testaments, princes generally assigned great importance to their wives, left them large districts, enjoined sons in all matters to obey their mother. She had also the right to distribute the district of a son who died, and assign it to remaining sons. Hence, princely brothers thus commenced their documents, 'By the word and blessing of our mother.' This respect for mothers had, of course, a religious foundation, and consequently was maintained by the clergy.

TARTAR INFLUENCE

At the first period of the Tartar yoke, annals state that Bati placed 'Baskaks,' or viceroys, in all the towns of Russia, and sent various functionaries to ascertain the exact amount of the population. About 1266 we again learn from annals that Tartar influence in Russia was considerably weakened. Subsequently, no more mention is made of 'Baskaks' in the north. After the year 1375 we no longer find that the population had been enumerated, a sign that the Khans, from various reasons, began to have greater confidence in the Russian princes. In fact, they themselves eventually collected tribute and sent it to the Horde. In this wise, towards the close of the thirteenth century, by the absence of Tartar functionaries, their influence was no longer felt in the interior administration of Russia. Indeed, even while the so-called 'Baskaks' were in office, we have no foundation for supposing them influential in the internal government of the country. Besides, while the Grand Prince was collecting tribute for the Tartars, he had the opportunity and means to collect for himself; and thus he was enabled to buy land from princes who had become poor. But, at all events, more justice was henceforth shown in collecting tribute. Previously, it had been

levied alike on all, and consequently was trifling to the rich but onerous to the poor. A tax was levied on ploughs (for the extent of land worked, for example, by three horses). But especially the Grand Prince suited the amount of impost to the means of those who paid it. Besides the tribute paid in money to the Horde, the Russians were obliged to furnish horses to Tartar functionaries, to entertain Tartar ambassadors, their numerous followers, and also to go to the Horde. There, Russian princes actually ruined themselves for presents to the Khan, his wives, nobles, or other individuals of more or less importance. In this wise, it is by no means extraordinary that many Russian princes had too little money for such expenditure, and were forced to make debts. In fact, tribute only went to the prince's own coffers, when the Horde made no demands, or when it was possible not to grant them. As formerly, the permanent revenues of the Russian princes consisted in duty levied on articles of trade, as well as judicial fines, and also funds obtained from private landed property.

Karamzine rejects the optimism of those who maintain that 'all which is, is best.' But he does admit that although the Tartar yoke was a dire calamity to Russia, in short, 'a yoke watered by the tears and the blood of many succeeding generations,' notwithstanding, the Tartars, unknown to themselves, contributed to establish power invested in one individual in Russia. This was chiefly effected by the unusual favour shown particularly to the Princes of Moscow. Ioann Kaleeta and Simeon the Proud humiliated themselves in the most abject possible manner at the Horde. But, according to Karamzine, 'there is certainly no doubt that Moscow owes its greatness to the Khans.'

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

We have already stated that although the Tartars had reduced Russia to a state of complete subjection, they, notwithstanding, interfered but little with the interior administration of the country. For this reason, Russian princes issued laws and administered justice in their own districts. The famous 'Rooskaia Pravda,' or code of Yaroslav the Great, had already outlived its century. Thus, instead were issued statutes, or princes' documents, to which judges referred in administering justice. Doubtful cases were generally decided by judicial duels, or the so-called 'judgment of God,' in spite of the opposition of the clergy shown to this step. We shall again allude to the subject of judicial duels in a subsequent chapter. Criminals underwent corporal punishment, or suffered death, according to the crime. Only in Novgorod and in Pskov were they still punished by pecuniary fines.

THE ART OF WAR

The victories at the Neva, at Rakov (or Vesenberg), at the Voja, and the Don, proved that although Russia yet groaned under the Tartar yoke, her sons, notwithstanding, still knew how to draw the sword. The boyards and nobles, in general, formed the chief and best part of Russian forces, whilst the militia of princes and boyards were entitled 'princes' and boyards' children.' Standing armies, as they now exist, were as yet unknown in Russia. In case of need, troops were assembled, and then dismissed homewards after a battle. Among other reasons, this accounts for the success of Tartar arms in Russia. Towards the close of Dmitri Donskoi's reign, firearms became known to the Russians, and, during the reign of his son, gunpowder was made in Moscow.

THE MILITIA

At this epoch, the princes of northern Russia ceased to remove from one principality to another, but remained constantly in one spot, which often grew powerful at the expense of neighbouring principalities. That also permitted members of the militia to remain in one place. They thus obtained landed property, and government positions became hereditary. Meanwhile, as the principality of Moscow became powerful, so also did its boyards. They furthermore upheld their own prince, as in the case of Dmitri Donskoi. While yet a child, the nobles and the metropolitan together retained the principality of Vladimir for him. But, as formerly, members of the militia, boyards, 'boyards' children,' and free servants, might, if they chose, pass from the service of one prince to that of another. And it was not considered treacherous to do so. Hence, in all conventions of princes, the expression was repeated: 'Boyards and our servants of their own free will.' Of course, it was more advantageous to pass from the service of the weak to that of the strong. The importance acquired by the boyards of Moscow is proved by the fact that matrimonial alliance with them was sought both by the Grand Princes of Nijni-Novgorod and of Tver. However, that importance was not dangerous to the Grand Prince of Moscow, for not one distinguished family long retained power at the Moscovite court. New-comers there constantly appeared to displace others, and the stronger the Moscow princes became, the more desired to enter their service. It also so happened that new courtiers could not act in unison with the old. Among others who flocked to the Moscow court were many Russian princes of Rurik's race, but become poor, because deprived of their inheritance. Lithuanians too, descended from Gedimin, princes without land, came to Moscow, and received estates, by

the favour of the Grand Prince. Such persons were, however, in no wise dangerous to him, as they were not powerful. The militia, in return for service, received from the Grand Prince districts and villages for maintenance. Besides the militia, armies were, as formerly, composed of town and village populations.

TOWNS

In capital cities such as Moscow, Tver, Riazane, Nijni-Novgorod, Souzdal, Vladimir, we at this epoch no longer meet with the hitherto invariable popular assemblies, or 'Vietsché,' and the same participation of citizens in the administration of affairs. Civil discord among princes still continued, but towns no longer took part in it as before. And the princes, too, did not any longer summon a popular assembly before undertaking important expeditions. By the name of Vietsché, annalists eventually designated seditious assemblages of rebels. In general, Moscow annalists express great aversion to the popular assemblies of the Novgorodians. The latter, as we have already seen, were no longer able to maintain their freedom by force, and bought liberty for money. Thus the Grand Princes of Moscow allowed the Novgorodians to live as formerly, and confirmed the permission by documents. One of the most ancient, preserved till our own times, dates from the epoch of the Grand Prince Yaroslav Yaroslavitch (1263-1271).

At a remote period, probably at the second quarter of the twelfth century, the Novgorodians themselves began to choose their posadniks (chief magistrates) and teesiatskies, and to place the posadnik near the prince during the administration of judgment, or while distributing places, although by this the prince lost no influence while a posadnik was elected, and could still demand his deposition if proved guilty of offence. In former times the Grand Prince, himself being unable to reside in Novgorod, usually sent a relative or viceroy there. But latterly Grand Princes, particularly those of Moscow, used to send one of their boyards as viceroy of Novgorod.

In the towns of south-western Russia, at this epoch, the population was much mixed with Germans, Jews, and Armenians. During the sway of Lithuania, the Jews acquired great privileges. Then also Russian towns began to receive the rights of those in Germany, such as Magdeburg, etc.; Russian citizens were no longer judged by a voevode, or by other functionaries of the Grand Princes, but by an administrator or so-called 'Voit' (bailiff). The town of Polotsk (government of Vitebsk) was like Great Novgorod, and retained its peculiar privileges, even during the reign of Lithuanian princes. Polotsk concluded conventions with Riga and the masters of the Livonian order. A document from King

Casimir intimates that the nobles, citizens, gentry, and all the inhabitants of Polotsk must assemble to discuss town affairs, at the same spot where they were formerly wont to meet. The nobles, citizens, and people could not summon an assembly without a boyarine; and the treasury was guarded by a chosen number from all ranks of the people.

VILLAGE POPULATION

At this epoch, there was much uninhabited land in Russia. Accordingly, its princes endeavoured to remove colonists from one spot to another. In order to encourage these new inhabitants, they were for some time exempt from all kinds of taxes. Peasants, unrestricted, went to different districts; but they could only leave the land 'they refused,' as it was then expressed, at a particular season, usually in autumn, after field-labour had terminated. There were, however, cases in which princes prohibited peasantry from quitting one spot particularly, when in favour of a proprietor. Thus Vasili the Blind, when he granted land to the Trinity Cloister, forbade the inhabitants of one village belonging to the monastery to leave their home. Proprietors obtained from the Grand Prince the right of judging their peasants except in criminal cases. Besides this temporary, free population of villages, there was also a considerable number of bondmen belonging to the proprietor.

TRADE

Even during the Tartar yoke trade in Russia was not hindered. The conquest of Kiev by Lithuania, of course, closed the so-called 'Greek Way' to Russian merchants. But in other directions commerce was carried on—towards the east by the Horde, and to Constantinople by Azoph. The Khans themselves favoured Russian traders, and protected them by special documents. Merchants of the Horde lived in Moscow, Tver, and Rostov. By the Sea of Azoph, silk stuffs were imported to Moscow, and cloth from Germany. Great Novgorod, as one of the chief members of the celebrated Hanseatic League, flourished by its trade, and was the wealthiest of Russian towns. 'Who is against God and Great Novgorod?' was a proverbial expression of ancient times. Many Germans came to Novgorod for commerce, while Novgorodian merchants also went to Lübeck, to Gothland, and to Stockholm, as is proved from treaties concluded between Russians and Germans, as well as with the Hanse. After Novgorod the Great, the most considerable commercial Russian cities were Pskov, Smolensk, Polotsk. Germans there imported corn, salt, vegetables, herrings, cloth, linen, metal and metallic articles, parchment, wine, beer; and exported fur, skins of animals, tallow, wax,

timber, and Eastern productions, such as pearls, silk, and fine woollen textures. Even in Kiev, too, in spite of its devastation by the Tartars, there was a certain amount of commerce carried on. The situation of the city was advantageous, and from old habit, too, foreign traders, particularly Tartars, frequented it. Germans went to Volhynia and Galicia. Its inhabitants and those of Podolsk traded with Moldavia, Bessarabia, and Hungary. Russian merchants also, in Soodak (Sooroj-Azoph) and in Theodosia (Kaffa), had commerce with Greece and Turkey. In a north-eastern direction, Nijni-Novgorod, thanks to its advantageous position, soon became famous as a commercial city, and, consequently, the Princes of Souzdal transported their residence there. In Nijni, besides Tartars, there were also many Armenian traders. Armenian and Lithuanian merchants also came to Moscow. Tartar traders arrived in Russian towns along with ambassadors. The chief obstacle to commerce was robbery, carried on to a great extent, particularly on the Volga, by Novgorodians.

MONEY

Trade increased the quantity of silver in Russia, and also occasioned the use of the first metal money. Hitherto small 'mordki' (snouts of little animals) and 'kooni' (pieces of marten fur) gave place to metallic coins, which, however, bore no stamp. Russian roubles—mentioned for the first time in 1321—were simple pieces of silver without any mark whatsoever. They weighed about twenty-two zolotnaiks—one zolotnik being the ninety-sixth part of a Russian pound. During the reign of Dmitri Donskoi, small silver money was coined in Moscow (1360-1389) like that of the Tartars called 'tangi.' Hence the Russian word 'dengi,' money. When Donskoi's son occupied the throne (1389-1425) the Novgorodians began to strike silver money, and their example was followed by the inhabitants of Pskov.

RICHES OF THE PEOPLE AND THEIR DOMESTIC CONDITION

Wealthy commercial cities, such as Great Novgorod and Pskov, famed for their durable fortifications, abounded in stone churches. They, however, were small, quickly built, and sometimes without any regard to art. The architects were Russians, but those who adorned churches by paintings were Greek artists or their Russian pupils. Among the latter, André Rooblev was especially famed. The higher clergy also began to build themselves stone churches in Novgorod and in Moscow. About this epoch likewise striking clocks were first used in Moscow.

The domestic condition of the Russians was, however, remarkable for its extreme simplicity. Princes who built towns and richly decorated churches,

themselves slept on straw (Soloviev, p. 75). In testaments of the Moscow princes mention is made of expensive images, costly garments, chains, etc. In some rare cases valuable arms are also enumerated, and a few vessels for the table. But of all these articles there was by no means a large number. Thus they could easily be hidden, collected, or carried away. If this was the case in princely dwellings, how were those of the poor furnished? As for them, they only possessed the most simple, necessary domestic articles. Any objects of value were placed in churches, as being less exposed to robbery and fires. The scarcity of furniture and adornments of domestic life, remarkable among ancient Russians, made them more indifferent to frequent invasions of enemies, and also to terrible fires, then, as now, quite a scourge in Russia. If life was saved, little else was regretted. If there were few objects of value, they were the more easily transported, and small wooden dwellings were speedily rebuilt, from the cheapness of building material.

GENERAL CONDITION OF MANNERS AND OF POPULAR MORALITY

The functionaries of the Horde and the Tartar 'Baskaki,' or viceroys, sent to Russia to collect tribute, tyrannised over the Russians, and treated them as slaves. The evil influence of this was soon visible. The sentiments of the Russians were lowered. Instead of national pride and consciousness of their own worth, abject flattery and slavish humiliation appeared. From want of power and strength, all had recourse to deceit, cunning, and calumny of each other. Even the princes themselves were not ashamed to make use of these base means in order to obtain favour at the Horde. Therefore it was, also, that the Tartar yoke occasioned coarseness, rudeness, cruel habits, and many other evils. Therefore it also was that, after the first slavish submission to the Tartars had passed, its traces were yet deeply marked in the disposition of the people. Hence, too, legislators were forced to adopt severe, even cruel, measures to break the people's evil inclinations. Severe corporal punishment was introduced, and even Dmitri Donskoi, in spite of his natural good-heartedness, was forced to introduce capital punishment.

What also much conduced to roughen the manners of the people, and to render them still more brutal, were the incessant civil wars among the princes of Russia. They no longer heeded the rights of seniority, as formerly; the stronger only vexed and oppressed the weaker. Thus the people had no rest from Tartars, Lithuanians, and even from their own countrymen. When a powerful prince wished to subdue one less so, the subjects of the latter were harassed. If civil war broke out in a district, the people fled from it, and

returned when all was again quiet. They accordingly lived in a constant state of alarm. In so miserable a condition of society, popular amusements were of the coarsest description. They could thus in no wise tend to soften manners or to refine them, but rather to render them still more unseemly in word and deed. Women, from modesty, shunned society; hence the custom for wives and daughters of distinguished nobles to conceal themselves in their own apartments, and not to appear in the company of men. The manners of the latter, in consequence, became yet ruder, because unrestrained by the presence of women. Hermits and holy men often censured the looseness of public morality, but they were few in number; their words, too, were often unheeded. Many retired to cloisters in order to escape from all the ills of life; but to most the only amusement and consolation in a wretched existence was to participate in drunken revels, accompanied by quarrels and fighting, which not unfrequently ended in bloodshed and murder.

SCIENCE—ARTS—CIVILISATION

Under such circumstances, of course, small progress could be made in arts, sciences, and civilisation. The darkness of barbarism and ignorance introduced by the Tartars separated Russia from Western Europe. The light of science, however, although partially obscured, was happily not yet totally extinguished, even at that terrible epoch. By the commercial intercourse of Great Novgorod with the west, Russia became acquainted with important inventions of the age, such as gunpowder, writing-paper, etc. This particular kind of paper was, in fact, known to the Russians during the fourteenth century, for on it are written the conventions of Simeon the Proud with his brothers, and also his testament. 'These two documents belong to the most ancient manuscripts on paper now existing in Europe.' (See Karamzine's *History of the Russian Empire*, vol. iv. note 373.)

Various arts and sciences were also at this epoch known to the Russians. Dmitri Donskoi founded a stone kreml in Moscow, and his son fortified that city by a deep ditch. In 1404 a Servian, a monk named Lazare, made the first striking clock in Moscow. Karamzine narrates that crowds constantly surrounded the clock, and considered it as a miracle. During the reign of Simeon the Proud, a Russian named Boris cast bells in Moscow and in Novgorod. Teachers of architecture and painting at this epoch were Greeks, but their Russian pupils made rapid progress in these arts, and thanks to these early artists many churches and monasteries were erected in Russia and adorned with paintings. Science, too, at this period, was not quite extinct in Russia, for

it was furnished with books from Greece. Even during the Tartar yoke the famous Library of the Metropolitans was collected in Moscow. The said library contains many curious manuscripts and ancient works of Greek literature. This collection formed the foundation of the Moscow Patriarchs' Library. The clergy were famed for their knowledge of Greek. From them lay authors borrowed statements concerning morality and Christianity, as well as the records of past times. Indeed, at that epoch, the history of Russia lived in cloisters. Time was reckoned from the foundation of the world, and the year began in March. At that period we nowhere find mention made of instructed princes or nobles; the clergy alone were learned. To this period also belong many historical songs, narrations, and annals. In one of these songs is described the death of the Tartar ambassador, Shevkal, in Tver. That song is, besides, remarkable because it gives minute details concerning the conduct of Tartar viceroys in Russian towns. As, in a previous age, the subjects of historical songs were descriptions of war between Russian princes and knights with the Petchenègues and the Polovtsi, so, in the thirteenth century, these songs described war with the Tartars in the east, or with Germans and Lithuanians in the west. Historical narrations of the struggle between the Russians and Tartars begin with the *Narrations of Riazane*. They describe Bati's invasion; the exploits and ruin of the Riazane princes; the tragic death of the Princess Evpraxia, who, on hearing that Bati had killed her husband,¹ threw herself, with her infant son in her arms, from a high tower, and perished on the spot. One narration gives minute details regarding the doughty deeds of a famous Riazane hero knight, Kolovrat. Some descriptions also remain of the battle of Koolikov, one of which evidently copies the style of *Words on Igor's Army*. But none of these northern compositions can be compared with the rich poetic beauty of the celebrated *Words*. The invasion of Tochtamuish in Moscow also furnished the theme of another narration. Tamerlan's incursion, too, was poetised into a romance; it extolled the wonder-working powers of the Vladimirski image of the Mother of our Lord. An extraordinary dream or vision is said to have arrested the progress of Tamerlan—the figure of a woman appeared in the air, and forbade him to advance further in Russian ground. Another narration describes the life and death of Dmitri Donskoi. That panegyric dwells chiefly on Dmitri's moral qualities, and exhorts other princes to imitate them. The said panegyric is one of the most brilliant literary productions of the epoch.

In the struggle of the Russians at the west with the Swedes, Germans, and

¹ Prince Feodor.

Lithuanians, the historical narrations of the age specially praise two princes, namely, Alexander Nevski and Doomont of Pskov; their exploits are detailed with poetic exaggeration. As previously, annals were written in different towns, such as Moscow, Tver, Rostov, Novgorod, Pskov.

SALUTARY INFLUENCE OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF

During this period of darkness and of suffering the Russians still adhered with unalterable constancy to their religious belief. 'And that belief,' says Karamzine, 'acted so that, even at an epoch remarkable for the spirit of servility, the Russians did not yet lose all their morality, their love of virtue, and of their native country. That belief still sustained them as men and citizens. It prevented their hearts from turning into stone, and their consciences from becoming dead. Although lowered as Russians, they were, notwithstanding, elevated as Christians, and loved their native land as the land of orthodox religion' (vol. v. p. 372).

THE CLERGY AND AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH

One result of the Tartar yoke in Russia was the increase of churches and monasteries. Their possessions, too, were also augmented. Many individuals, deprived of all dearest and most precious to the heart, sought the stillness of cloistral retreats, and there obtained religious consolation in sorrow. Others esteemed the Tartar yoke as a chastisement from God, and gave all their possessions to churches, hoping thereby to appease the wrath of Heaven. At the same time, the Tartars, although the oppressors of Russia, were merciful towards the clergy. All its members were exempt from poll-tax, and were not reckoned in a census. The Khan punished with death any Tartars who dared to attack Russian churches and monasteries, or to seize their property. But, in spite of these privileges, the spiritual pastors of the Russo-Greek Church did not profit by circumstances in order to augment their own possessions. On the contrary, they often shared what they had with their flocks. They thus served as examples of firmness and inflexibility in faith. The clergy, too, were often peacemakers between contending princes, and thus co-operated with them in promoting the good of Russia. These early pastors of the Russo-Greek Church shared all the sorrows of the people, increased their strength by suggesting patience, faith, submission to the will of God, and hope in the mercy of Heaven.

During the Tartar yoke the Russians enjoyed free exercise of their religion, and Russian bishops even lived at the Horde. Tranquillity reigned in the

Church. Metropolitans maintained unaltered inspection of general decorum, and, in order to preserve morality among the clergy and laity, suitable measures were taken in councils.

Thus no change whatsoever took place in the religion of the Russians or in the rites of their Church service.

After the fall of the Greek Empire, Russian metropolitans were established (from 1461) in Russia. Previous to the Tartar invasion they had resided in Kiev (1224—1237-8); from 1299, in Vladimir; and from the time of the metropolitan Peter (1323), in Moscow.

At this epoch the districts of Perm were Christianised, according to the belief of the Russo-Greek Church, by the pious zeal of the Russian monk—subsequently canonised—Saint Stephen of Perm.

CHAPTER XXVIII

GENERAL VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF RUSSIA DURING THE TARTAR YOKE AND AT ITS CLOSE

FOR more than two hundred years Russia had groaned under the Tartar yoke. The Princes of Moscow, Ioann Danilovitch Kaleeta and his son Simeon the Proud, acting strictly from motives of policy, had endeavoured quietly to remove the chains of slavery from their people, and the hero Donskoi had made a desperate effort to remove them by the sword. Notwithstanding, the independence of the Russian state had disappeared, as it seemed, for ever; but a great man can change the fate of a people, especially if circumstances favour his efforts to promote the prosperity of his subjects.

The son of Vasili the Blind, Ioann (John) III., whose reign we are now about to describe, has justly been surnamed 'The Great.' This remarkable prince was destined by Providence to rule over Russia during the space of forty-three years, and his reign was glorious. From this epoch a great change commenced, both in the internal and external condition of Russia. Civil discord amongst its princes disappeared; the appanaged system came to an end, and from its ruins arose one vast, powerful empire. Russia acquired new strength, and acted energetically against enemies. The darkness of ignorance, which, for more than two centuries, had obscured the nation, began to be dispelled. The beneficial light of art and science gradually dawned. Greece, Italy, and other European states were at this period, from fortunate circumstances, instrumental in promoting the enlightenment and civilisation of Russia. Order

was introduced in its civil and judicial administration; trade assumed a regular form. Siberia, added to the dominions of Russian monarchs, yielded them many of its precious productions. In its boundless steppes were founded flourishing industrial, commercial towns. Military art was improved, and Russian warriors no longer rent their own country asunder by civil discord, but united their efforts against the common enemy. Finally, Russia was at length freed from the Tartar yoke (1480), and began once more to hold intercourse and to form alliance with the civilised nations of Western Europe.

CHAPTER XXIX

REIGN OF IOANN (JOHN) III. (VASILIEVITCH 'THE GREAT'), 1462-1505—THE
TARTAR YOKE CAST OFF, 1486

THE happy descendant of a whole line of wise, energetic, careful ancestors, Ioann III., in his twenty-second year, ascended the throne of Moscow, when the various principalities of Russia had already been consolidated into one state. The condition of society was then such that no opposition to the sovereign's sway was offered either by the clergy, the boyards, or by other towns. Novgorod, Tver, and the Moscovite districts only awaited the first movements of the Grand Prince in order to submit to him. The Horde was ruining itself by division and civil discord. Towards the west, the kingdom of Poland and the Grand Principality of Lithuania were occupied by constant disputes with each other, or in struggles with Prussia, Bohemia, and Hungary. Besides, the power of the Polish king was limited by the nobles and the Diet, so that he could not prevent Moscow from becoming powerful; on the contrary, he was obliged to cede whole districts to its new sovereign.

To Ioann III. is due the capacity of turning to account the means and fortunate circumstances by which he was surrounded during his whole reign. In this respect he was the worthy descendant of Vsevolod III. and of Kaleeta.

A true prince of northern Russia—calculating, even sometimes tardy; no lover of desperate measures, by which much may be gained, but also much is frequently lost; persevering in continuing a plan once adopted; cool, penetrating, cautious, even to excess—such were the distinguishing characteristics of Ioann III.

For three years Ioann reigned in quietness, without asking the Khan's yarleek, or document, granting permission to occupy the throne of the Grand Principality. For this reason, Achmat, chief of the Volga Ootoos (nomad

village of tents), took up arms against Russia. But circumstances favoured Ioann. One horde made war on another, and Achmat was defeated by Azi-Girei, Khan of the Crimea. This was followed by a second event fortunate for the Russians. Ioann marched against Kazane. Although his first attempts were unsuccessful, at length Ibrahim, Khan of Kazane, terrified by the strength of Russian arms, finally consented to be dependent on the Grand Prince of Moscow, and liberated all the Russian prisoners then languishing in Kazane. This happy event prognosticated the speedy termination of the Tartar yoke in Russia.

1469—Successful campaign against Kazane.

SUBJECTION OF NOVGOROD AND VIATKA—FALL OF GREAT NOVGOROD

After the death of Vasili the Blind, the Novgorodians began to violate some conditions of the treaty with Moscow. The disputes of the Boyarski party, or that of the nobles, grew more violent. On one occasion the popular assembly, or Vietsché, insulted the Moscow viceroy, and the Grand Prince demanded redress. At that epoch one of the richest and most celebrated among the families of Novgorodian nobles was that of a deceased posadnik (or chief magistrate), Isaac Boretzki. His widow, Marfa, was a woman of uncommon mind, firm, decided disposition, but proud, ambitious, and cunning. She urged her fellow-citizens to separate themselves from Russia, and to claim the protection of Cazimir IV., King of Poland. Marfa Boretzkaia, by bribes, had obtained a numerous party among the poorer citizens, and by their aid influenced the decision of the popular assembly. Deceived by Marfa's promises, and flattered by the delusive vision of republican freedom, the citizens, in a commotion, exclaimed, 'We do not wish Ioann! Long live Cazimir!' The more prudent Novgorodians endeavoured to suppress this popular outbreak, but in vain. The voice of wisdom, virtue, honour, was lost in noisy assemblies, amid shouts of individual passion and lack of reason. Excited by the party of the Boretzkies, the Vietsché decided to place the Novgorodians under the protection of Cazimir IV., and concluded a treaty with him, very advantageous to themselves. Meanwhile, Ioann was slow to adopt decided measures. He, however, artfully encouraged discontent in Novgorod, where many were displeased at subjection to a king of the Romish faith. Finally, after waiting till the proper moment had come, the Grand Prince, with great pomp, set out to commence a campaign. He previously distributed abundant alms among churches and beggars, offered up prayers, and in general gave the expedition a religious character, while he declared the Novgorodians traitors to the Russo-Greek faith. The campaign commenced by devastating the districts of Novgorod.

Along with the Moscovites were Tartar detachments, militia from Tver; and even Pskov, by the Grand Prince's orders, sent troops against the so-called 'Elder Brother.' The Novgorodians marched boldly to the attack, but they were completely defeated on the banks of the Shelon by the Moscovite van, under command of Prince Daniel Holmski. Five thousand Moscovites overcame forty thousand Novgorodians. On meeting the Moscovites, the cavalry of the archbishop's army refused to fight, from secret instructions of the archbishop. But, in general, the wealthy Novgorodian citizens had become unused to war, and could not resist the hardy, experienced troops of the Moscovites and Tartars. Ioann did not hesitate to take very severe measures with the vanquished. Among the prisoners made at the Shelon was Dmitri Boretzki, one of Marfa's sons; he was put to death, according to Ioann's orders, and so likewise were three other Novgorodian boyards. Many were, besides, made prisoners. Meanwhile, Cazimir IV. sent the Novgorodians no help. In Novgorod itself there was even a party of adherents to Moscow, and they began to have more power than the partisans of the Boretzkies in the popular assembly. When the transport of corn was stopped, the citizens lost courage, and sent proposals of peace to Ioann. He accepted their proposal, but forced them to pay a contribution of fifteen thousand roubles. On this occasion he did not abolish their popular assembly, but merely confirmed his own power in supreme judgment. Ioann, however, obliged the Novgorodians to promise that in future they would not submit to Lithuania, nor receive any prince from that country, and also that they would send their archbishop for consecration only to Moscow.

Battle at the
Shelon, 14th
July 1471.

During the campaign with Novgorod, circumstances greatly favoured the Grand Prince of Moscow. In general, expeditions against Novgorod were undertaken in winter, because, while summer lasted, the numerous rivers, marshes, and forests formed the best defence of Novgorod. But during the summer of 1471 an extraordinary drought took place. Thus the Moscovites, without difficulty, advanced to Lake Ilmen. At the same time, all the movements of the Novgorodians were unsuccessful. The force sent to defend the districts of the Dvina was defeated. Many inhabitants of the town of Roosa, after the siege, were returning in boats from Novgorod, by Lake Ilmen; but a storm arose, and they were all drowned. In Novgorod, terrible fires broke out. Annalists likewise narrate how the fall of Great Novgorod was prognosticated by various signs and wonderful circumstances. For example, a hurricane tore off the cross from the Cathedral of Saint Sophia; bells rang of their own accord in the Hootinsk monastery; tears dropped from the eyes of an image of the Blessed Virgin, etc. etc.

FALL OF GREAT NOVGOROD

1478—Fall
of Great
Novgorod.

The above-mentioned events occurred in Novgorod in 1471. The famous old capital, however, still continued to maintain its independence; and, while that was the case, permanent peace between Moscow and Novgorod could not be maintained. In 1477, Novgorodian ambassadors arrived in Moscow and entitled Ioann 'Sovereign.' Hitherto the Novgorodians had merely addressed the Grand Prince as 'Master.' The said ambassadors had acted without the knowledge of the popular assembly, and by commission of the archbishop and boyards, partisans of Moscow. Ioann then sent to ask the Novgorodians 'which particular sovereign they wished.' The Novgorodians thereupon became terribly alarmed. They immediately seized one boyarine (nobleman) accused of treachery in the Vietsché, cut him to pieces with hatchets, and also killed two other boyards, while some adherents of the Moscovite party saved themselves by flight. Whereupon, the remaining citizens replied that they would, as formerly, entitle Ioann 'Master,' not 'Sovereign,' and implored him not to violate the ancient order of things. But Ioann took this opportunity to abolish the Novgorodian Vietsché, or popular assembly.

During the winter of 1478, the Grand Prince, at the head of a large army, again undertook an expedition against Novgorod. On this occasion he besieged the city without a battle. The Moscovite party, headed by the Archbishop Theophilus, once more gained the ascendancy, and the citizens asked for peace. However, Ioann no longer desired to make peace on previous conditions. 'I wish to reign in Novgorod as I reign in Moscow,' said he. 'In Novgorod, there must henceforth be neither a popular assembly nor a posadnik, but merely my sovereign will.'

After protracted stipulation, the Novgorodians finally submitted, and swore allegiance to Ioann as their unconditional, supreme sovereign. Notwithstanding, for long afterwards agitation did not subside in Novgorod, because its inhabitants could not soon forget their former freedom. The bell of the popular assembly (Vietsché) and the aged Marfa Posadnitza (*i.e.* wife of a posadnik, or chief magistrate) had both been sent to Moscow. Ioann, meanwhile, took the severest measures against insubordination in Novgorod. He executed those who encouraged rebellion, removed some thousands of Novgorodian families to eastern towns, and, instead of the exiled, sent merchants and 'boyards' children' to Novgorod from the districts of Moscow. This was with the intention to augment the party favourable to himself, and to weaken that of his enemies. Besides, when a quarrel happened in Revel, the Grand Prince ordered fifty Hanseatic merchants

to be arrested. They were then cast into prison. Their merchandise was confiscated and appropriated by the treasury. Trade with the Hanse was thus nearly stopped, which proved a final blow to the famous commercial old capital; and Great Novgorod fell, to rise no more!

Karamzine remarks that subsequently Ioann, too late, bitterly regretted this cruel injustice towards the Hanseatic merchants. He even endeavoured once more to encourage their former trade with Russia. They, however, terrified by the fate of their colleagues, no longer accepted his proposals.

The Novgorodian colony, Viatka, profiting by its distant geographical position, 1489. also desired to be independent, and, in some instances, allowed itself to disobey the Grand Prince. In 1489 Ioann sent a powerful force to Viatka, under command of Prince Daniel Tscheni. The inhabitants of Viatka were forced to submit, and to give up three of their chief defenders, who were hanged. Those remaining among the better classes were removed, and received land at the southern boundaries of the empire, while merchants were placed in Dmitrov. Pskov, in the meantime, maintained its ancient condition, because it entirely submitted to the Grand Prince, and strove to appease his anger.

CHAPTER XXX

REIGN OF IOANN III. (*continued*). 1472—IOANN'S POWER IN RIAZANE

THE principality of Riazane still nominally retained its independence, because it unconditionally yielded to Ioann of Moscow. Vasili, Grand Prince of Riazane, while yet a child, had been taken to Moscow, and there married a sister of Ioann. Vasili of Riazane died, leaving two sons, Ivan and Feodor. The latter died childless, and left his districts to Ioann of Moscow. The elder, Ivan, died, leaving a son, also Ivan, only five years old, under the guardianship of his mother and grandmother, the Princess Agrafena Vasilievna, who in everything followed the advice of her brother, Ioann III. of Moscow.

SUBJECTION OF TVER

We have already seen that the chief aims of Ioann III. were to abolish the appanaged system and to form a government in Russia invested in one sovereign. He had thus already gradually succeeded in subduing neighbouring districts and principalities, and in adding them to Moscow. The principality of Tver, however, still retained a shadow of independence. According to Karamzine, 'Tver,

surrounded on all sides by Moscovite possessions, yet raised its independent head like a small island in the midst of a sea, and every moment threatened by inundation.'

The Grand Prince Michael Borisovitch of Tver, whose sister Mary was married to Ioann, felt how precarious his position was. Till the close of 1484, Michael was on friendly terms with Ioann. But at that epoch it was known in Moscow that Michael had formed alliance with Casimir of Lithuania, and then married his granddaughter. In a contract made with the King, Michael obliged himself to join Casimir against all enemies without exception. As this was an open violation of a previous treaty with the Grand Prince of Moscow, Ioann declared war on Michael. The struggle commenced by devastating the districts of Tver. It, of course, was too feeble to cope with Moscow. Help from Lithuania did not appear; so Michael begged for peace. Ioann granted it, but it did not last long. Constant differences took place between the inhabitants of Tver and those of Moscow. The latter were always acquitted, the former proved guilty, because justice did not defend them. So Michael, in despair, once more sought aid from Lithuania. When that became known in Moscow, Ioann again prepared to march against Tver. In vain the terrified Michael sent to do Ioann homage. The Grand Prince of Moscow, deaf to all entreaties, besieged Tver. During the night Michael fled to Lithuania, and the inhabitants of Tver took the oath of allegiance to Ioann in 1485.

VEREIA ADDED TO MOSCOW

1485.

After the death of Vasili the Blind, besides the districts which he distributed among his sons, there was yet one district, Vereia, belonging to Michael Andréévitch, grandson of Dmitri Donskoi. The aged Prince Michael yielded to all the demands of Ioann, and thus gave no pretext for adding Vereia to Moscow. A pretext, however, did occur. The Grand Princess of Moscow, Ioann's consort, on marrying her niece to Michael's son Vasili, gave, along with the bride's outfit, some articles Ioann wished to have. On hearing that they were in the possession of Vasili of Vereia, Ioann was highly incensed. He sent messengers to take from Vasili all his wife's outfit, and threatened to imprison both him and her. The young prince was terrified and fled to Lithuania; whereupon Ioann seized Vereia, thus punishing Michael for the supposed fault of his son. Ioann, notwithstanding, restored Vereia to Michael, but only for his lifetime. After his death the district was annexed to Moscow.

IOANN III. AND HIS OWN BROTHERS

Karamzine greatly praises Marya Yaroslavna, mother of Ioann. She was an excellent princess, and constantly endeavoured to be a peace-maker among her sons. But when she passed away, discord broke out in the family.

With the other appanaged Princes of Moscow, *i.e.* the brothers of Ioann, peace was maintained till 1472, when the eldest, Youree Vasilievitch of Dmitrov, died. Ioann took his district, and gave nothing to his remaining brothers. They were therefore very angry. But the dispute was at length amicably terminated when Ioann gave them some small possessions. However, discontent again appeared because Ioann prohibited boyards of the militia from passing from the service of one prince to that of another. A certain Prince Obalenski-Leeko, in the service of Ioann, was displeased with him, and quitted his service in order to enter that of his brother Boris of Vologda. But Ioann ordered Obalenski to be secretly seized and brought back in chains to Moscow. On hearing what had occurred, Prince Boris sent to his brother André of Ooglitch, with complaints against Ioann. The appanaged princes then resolved to defend their rights. The princes assembled forces and marched towards the Lithuanian frontiers, in order to communicate more easily with King Casimir. These forces, meanwhile, completely devastated the Russian districts through which they passed. Ioann was, however, occupied by war with the Tartars, and could not weaken his army by sending part of it against his brothers. So he meanwhile yielded to their requests.

Ten years later, during the autumn of 1491, Ioann ordered his brothers to unite their forces to his in order to aid the Khan of the Crimea. Prince Boris sent an army, but André did not. From previous conventions, Ioann had full right to exact this aid. For his disobedience, when André the elder came to Moscow, he was arrested, loaded with chains, and cast into a dungeon, where he died. His sons were also seized, enchained, and imprisoned. Their district was then annexed to Moscow.

IOANN'S SECOND MARRIAGE TO SOPHIA PALEOLOGA, A GREEK PRINCESS,
AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF THAT UNION

Besides quarrels with his brothers, the Grand Prince of Moscow also experienced dispeace in his own family. His first consort was Marya Borisovna of Tver. She died in 1467. Karamzine states that annalists surnamed this princess 'The Good and Gentle.' Strange to say, however, she is thought to have been poisoned; though it is difficult to imagine in what way her death could be desired by any. Notwithstanding, Karamzine adds that a nobleman, suspected

of having made away with the 'good and gentle' princess, dared not to appear again at Ioann's court.

Ioann and Marya Borisovna had a son, also named Ioann, and likewise entitled Grand Prince. Thus the names of father and son appeared together in contemporary documents. Vasili the Blind had previously adopted this plan with his eldest son, Ioann III.

But two years had not yet passed after the death of Marya Borisovna, when there was question of Ioann's second marriage.

After the taking of Constantinople by Mohammed II. in 1453, the Greek Emperor Constantine fell while fighting on the city wall. His brother, Thomas Paleologus, surnamed 'The Despot of the Morea,' and his family sought refuge in Rome. This prince left two sons and a daughter, Sophia, whom the Pope Paul II. proposed as a suitable consort for the Grand Prince of Moscow. The Pope thus hoped to maintain friendly intercourse with Russia, and to establish his power over the Russo-Greek Church by means of Sophia's influence. The Pope's proposal was accepted. In 1472 Sophia Paleologa came to Moscow and was married to Ioann. The cardinal who accompanied Sophia to Russia could not refute the arguments of a certain book-learned Russian, Nicetas Popovitch, whom the metropolitan had chosen as a disputant.

1472—Mar-
riage of
Ioann III.
to Sophia
Paleologa.

As for Sophia, she no longer thought of favouring the Pope's schemes. Her attention was turned elsewhere. To Sophia, however, is imputed important influence on the future policy followed in Moscow. It is said that at her suggestion Ioann refused to send tribute to the Tartar Horde, and eventually cast off its yoke altogether. Sophia constantly kept saying to her consort: 'How long am I to be the slave of the Khan?' Besides, the proud Byzantine princess, niece of the Greek Emperor, was in no wise pleased to remark that her husband, the Grand Prince of Moscow, had not as yet complete sovereign power. She saw him surrounded by boyards who still remembered the recent order of things. At the slightest discontent these nobles could pass from the service of one prince to that of another. Furthermore, Ioann III. was also surrounded by princes who well knew their common origin with that of the Grand Prince himself, and that but a short time ago they likewise had been reigning princes. In a word, the simplicity of the Moscovite court displeased Sophia. Thus she urged Ioann to surround himself with more pomp and brilliancy. The princes and boyards also remarked that after Ioann's marriage to Sophia his intercourse with them was entirely changed. He obliged them to keep at a respectful distance from himself. He also became very exacting and stern. He consequently received the surname of 'The Terrible,' though it is now only given to

his grandson Ioann IV. (Vasilievitch). Karamzine, however, states that in ancient Russia the surname of 'Terrible' was considered complimentary rather than otherwise. The people were wont to look on kindness and indulgence as proofs of weakness. To a certain degree, we likewise remark this at the present day.

The princes and boyards of Ioann's court imputed the change in the Grand Prince to Sophia's influence. They accordingly hated her; and their hatred was ostensibly visible when, subsequently, there arose a doubtful question concerning succession to the throne.

After the second marriage of Ioann III., he was the first Russian prince who adopted the crest of the Greek Emperors, *i.e.* a double-headed eagle with outspread wings. This was engraved on one side of the seal. On the other was the previous coat-of-arms of Moscow, or Saint George the conqueror trampling a dragon. Saint George is represented on a red shield.

Ioann III. was also the first Grand Prince of Moscow who, in foreign intercourse, entitled himself Sovereign, Grand Prince, Autocrat of all the Russias. This gave great offence to the Grand Prince of Lithuania and to the King of Poland, both of whom had many possessions in Russia.

Ioann's marriage to Sophia Paleologa was the means of renewing intercourse between Russia and Western Europe, which (with the exception of Novgorod) had completely ceased since the Mongol yoke. Ioann also began to adorn his capital by the erection of stone buildings. For that purpose he engaged architects and other artists from abroad. Among them was the famous Italian architect, Aristoteli Fioraventi, a native of Bologna, summoned from Venice by Ioann. Karamzine states that, according to Italian annals, there were at that epoch two architects, both famous, *i.e.* Alberto Aristoteli and Rudolfo Fioraventi, although in Russia mention is only made of Aristoteli Fioraventi. Soloviev states (p. 94) that Aristoteli consented to go to Moscow for ten roubles a month. In 1475 he began his work, and in 1479 completed the famous Cathedral of the Assumption (originally built in 1326 by the metropolitan Saint Peter of Moscow, contemporary of the Grand Prince Ioann Kaleeta). This cathedral is at the Moscow Kreml, and exists till this day. Two neighbouring cathedrals—that of the Archangel Michael (patron saint of the Russian princes), originally founded by Kaleeta in 1333, and the Cathedral of the Annunciation (first founded in 1397 by Vasil Dmitrievitch)—had both fallen to ruin, and were also rebuilt by Aristoteli. A stone palace for the Grand Prince himself was also built, in which was a so-called 'Angular Hall' for state receptions. Beautiful towers were, besides, added to the wall of the Kreml, and stone forts in other towns. At this epoch, too, foreign

artisans cast cannons, discovered silver mines in the regions of the Petchora, and coined money. Diplomatic intercourse with Western courts also commenced. Thus Ioann exchanged ambassadors with the King of Hungary and the Emperor of Germany, who sought the alliance of Moscow against Poland and Turkey. With Denmark, intercourse was kept up on account of common enmity towards Sweden. With Venice and the Turks the Grand Prince had also intercourse, because he needed foreign artisans, and because he desired to favour trade.

IOANN III. CASTS OFF THE TARTAR YOKE, 1480

1480—Tartar
yoke cast off.

At this epoch, Russia's dependence on the Tartars was more nominal than real. It chiefly consisted in tribute paid by the Grand Princes to the Khans, and also that their ambassadors should be received with honour. But Ioann finally aimed at abolishing even the shadow of so shameful a yoke. We have, besides, already mentioned the influence of Sophia Paleologa on her husband. Not only was this felt concerning interior affairs of Russia, but likewise in its outward policy also. Karamzine mentions that the proud Greek princess was deeply galled by the humiliating position of Russia with regard to the Tartars. She, moreover, continually urged Ioann to cease paying tribute to the Khan.

1474.

According to popular tradition, in 1474 there came from the Horde a certain Nikifor (Nicephorus) Basenko, along with the ambassador of the Tartar Khan Achmet Karakootschook. The ambassador brought with him six hundred Tartars, entertained at the Grand Prince's expense. There were also 3200 merchants, who had 50,000 horses for sale. Karakootschook demanded that Ioann should go to the Horde to do homage to the Khan, and should also send him tribute. The Grand Prince, however, refused to do so. Two years later, Achmet sent another ambassador with orders for Ioann to go with tribute to the Horde. But, instead of doing so, Ioann only sent his ambassador Bestoojev with a message which did not please Achmet. Soon afterwards there again came Achmet's ambassadors. According to ancient usage, they brought with them the Khan's document and his so-called 'Basma,' or image. This was an effigy of the Khan. It was made of felt, and dressed in a loose Tartar robe. It also wore a hat. In former times, Russian princes had been obliged to kneel before the Tartar puppet, and humbly to receive the commands of their Mongol conquerors. But Ioann would in no wise consent any longer to perform this degrading act. Not only so: he grasped the 'Basma,' smashed it in pieces, and stamped them underfoot. He then ordered all the Tartar ambassadors to be put to death, save one. To him Ioann thus addressed himself: 'Go and tell thy Khan, that if he does not leave

me in peace, I shall also do to him what I have now done to the ambassadors and to the "Basma."

On the spot where this event is said to have occurred, there now stands a church (in Moscow) bearing the strange name of 'The Transfiguration on blocks or images.' Ioann III. breaking the Tartar Khan's effigy is likewise a favourite subject of Russian painters.

At this epoch, the Tartar Empire was divided into three independent hordes, 1480. *i.e.* the Golden Horde, that of Kazane, and that of the Crimea. As we have already seen, Achmet, Khan of the Golden Horde, was highly incensed because his demands for homage and tribute were disregarded by Ioann. Meanwhile, Casimir, King of Poland, having no other means of struggling directly with the Grand Prince of Moscow, urged Achmet to invade the Moscovite principality, and thus to turn Ioann's attention from the west to the east. But Ioann, like a good diplomatist, as he in reality was, profited by the mutual hatred between the Khans of the Golden Horde and of the Crimea, and formed close alliance with Mengli-Girei. In 1472 Achmet attacked the boundaries of Moscow from the side of the Oka, and, after burning Alexina (government of Toota), retreated backwards. In 1480, on hearing the revolt of Ioann's brothers, and after agreeing with Casimir of Lithuania to act alone, Achmet again invaded the possessions of Moscow from the side of the Oogra, and even intended to go onwards towards the capital. But Ioann had previously taken measures to ensure his success. Mengli-Girei invaded Lithuania, and thus occupied Casimir's attention, while Moscovite forces, joined to those of the Crimea, devastated Sarai, then left defenceless. The Grand Prince himself, at the head of a large army, next met the Tartars on the banks of the Oogra; but neither of the antagonists wished to cross the river. We have already mentioned the extreme caution for which Ioann III. was remarkable. It even sometimes gave him the appearance of cowardice. In fact, Karamzine affirms that during the whole transaction of throwing off the Tartar yoke, Ioann has been much more praised by succeeding generations than by his own. He did not advance to meet the Tartars, because he was dissuaded from doing so by Oshero and Mamono, two nobles near his person. The Grand Prince thus dreaded a battle with the Tartars, and thought of retreating to northern districts. So he left his forces on the banks of the Oka and went to Moscow. There he was met by the people with great discontent. The metropolitan, and especially Vassian, Archbishop of Rostov, Ioann's own confessor, urged him not to heed the advice of some cowardly nobles, but to advance bravely and to follow the example of his ancestor, Dmitri Donskoi. The nobles, on the other hand, reminded Ioann how his father Vasili had been

made prisoner by the Tartars of Kazane. Thus Ioann could not first decide to begin a battle. He stopped intercourse with the Tartars; and when at last the river Oogra was frozen, he gave orders to retreat. Achmet did not follow the Russians. He turned backwards. A keen frost set in, and it prevented the badly-clad Tartars from going northwards to fight the forces of Ioann, now joined by Moscovite regiments. Achmet next went to the Steppes, where, at the beginning of 1481, he was suddenly surprised and killed, while all his possessions were taken by Ivak, Khan of the Sheeban, or Tioomen Horde.

ALLIANCE BETWEEN MOSCOW AND THE CRIMEA

As we have already seen, Achmet, the last Khan of the Golden Horde, formidable to Russia, perished by the hand of a descendant of Tschingis-Khan. The sons of Achmet were also destined to perish by Tartar arms. Meanwhile, these princes did not give up their claim to receive tribute from Moscow. Even during the reign of Vasili the Blind the Crimean Horde began to be known. It was formed by Edigei, from various oolooses, or nomad Tartar villages, along the shores of the Black Sea. But Edigei's sons perished in civil war. Thus the founder of the dynasty of the Crimean Khans was Azi-Girei, from whom all his posterity took the name of Girei. Azi-Girei's son, Mengli-Girei, on account of a bitter enmity with the Khan of the Golden Horde, determined from policy to seek alliance with the Grand Prince of Moscow, in order to act with him against the common enemy. For, in case of defeat, Mengli-Girei hoped to find refuge in Moscow, where Ioann willingly received Tartar princes in order to augment his own forces. Besides, the Turks in 1475 had conquered the Crimea. True, Mengli-Girei still remained Khan, but only as the Sultan's assistant. Mengli, accordingly, constantly dreaded that orders from Constantinople might be sent to change him for another. During this interval, enmity still continued between the sons of Achmet and Mengli-Girei. Thus Moscovite forces marched forwards to aid those of the Crimea. In 1502 Mengli-Girei attacked Achmet's last son, Shig-Achmet, and dealt his horde a fatal, decided blow. Shig-Achmet fled to Poland, and there died in a dungeon. Thus terminated the existence of the Golden Horde.

1482.

The inhabitants of the Pskov were again at war with the Livonian order, and gained not a few victories over it at this epoch. In order to aid the Pskovians, Ioann also sent troops to Livonia. They devastated the country there. At length, however, peace was concluded for twenty years. But, to weaken Lithuania, Ioann permitted Mengli-Girei to ruin Russia's ancient capital, Kiev, then under Lithuanian sway.

Matthew Corvin, King of Hungary, at this period concluded a treaty with Ioann against Poland; and Stephen IV., Hospodar of Moldavia, wise, brave, manly, remarkable for his mind and virtue, concluded a matrimonial alliance with the Grand Princely family of Moscow, by giving his daughter Elēna in marriage to the young hereditary Grand Prince Ioann.

FINAL SUBJECTION OF KAZANE AND CONQUEST OF PERM

At this period the Tartar Horde of Kazane lost its independence. From the 1487. commencement of Ioann's reign, he had made war on Kazane. Sometimes he even sent powerful forces against it; but they returned without having made any considerable progress. Things continued so till the death of the Khan Ibrahim, when civil discord in Kazane broke out between his two sons, Alcham and Magmet-Amin. The latter prince came to Moscow, named Ioann his father, and implored him to send forces against Alcham. In 1487 they were sent. They besieged Alcham in Kazane, and he was obliged to surrender. In his stead Magmet-Amin was placed on the throne as the lieutenant of the Grand Prince of Moscow.

Ioann also extended his dominions towards the distant north-east, in regions on both sides of the Ural Mountains. In 1472 Perm was conquered. Sub-1472—Con-sequently, Moscovite voevodes performed various daring exploits beyond the quest of Perm. Ural Mountains in the so-called 'Ugoisk country' (Western Siberia in the vicinity of Russia). Russian vessels then appeared on the Irtish and the Obi. Moreover, the savage Vogoolietchi were forced to cease their attacks on Russian territories.

DEATH OF THE YOUNG HEREDITARY GRAND PRINCE IOANN, 1490

Ioann III., by his first consort, Marya Borisovna of Tver, had a son, also named Ioann. This young prince was of course considered heir to the throne, and already participated in affairs of state. Ioann junior is said to have been brave and manly, the worthy son-in-law of Stephen of Moldavia. The youthful prince was indeed the hope of the nation. But, to the great sorrow of his father and of all Russia, Ioann Ioannovitch suddenly fell ill and died in 1490, in his thirty-second year.

Ilovaiski (p. 108) makes the following remarks concerning the untimely fate of this poor young prince: 'Among other foreigners then invited to Moscow, on account of their learning, were doctors. But their lot was no enviable one. When Ioann junior became ill, he was confided to the care of a German medical

man named Leo. The doctor wagered his head that the young prince would recover. Notwithstanding, he died. Then Ioann III., after six weeks had passed, ordered the unhappy Leo to be executed publicly. Some years previously, another German doctor, Anthony, had a similar fate. He prescribed for a Tartar prince, son of a Khan. When the prince died, Anthony was delivered up to the young man's relatives, and publicly torn in pieces by the Tartars. Judgment so unjust naturally terrified many foreigners in Moscow. Not a few of them wished, in consequence, to return once more to their own country, and among others, the famous architect Aristoteli; but Ioann would not permit him to quit Moscow.'

Ioann the younger and Elena Stepanovna of Moldavia had a son named Dmitri, still a child at his father's death. Meanwhile, the Grand Princess Sophia Fomeenishna (*i.e.* daughter of Thomas) had also a son, Vasili. The question accordingly arose: which of these two princes would inherit the throne? According to our English law, Dmitri was the true heir; but, in ancient Russia, things were not yet so organised. Much depended on the decision of the reigning Grand Prince.

We have already seen that Sophia Fomeenishna, from her arrogant temper, had made many enemies among the nobles. They therefore took the part of Elena and of her son Dmitri Ioannovitch. At first they too were in favour. Sophia and Vasili were accused of forming a conspiracy against the Grand Prince. Vasili was placed under arrest, and some of his partisans, persons, however, of no importance, were executed. The Grand Prince withdrew from his consort, and publicly crowned Dmitri as heir to the throne. But the triumph of Sophia's enemies was only of short duration. According to Karamzine, this princess was a cunning Greek, and soon again wormed herself into her husband's confidence. Terrible consequences then ensued to the other party. Its most distinguished members, particularly opposed to Sophia, were the Princes Patrikéev, Lithuanian emigrants descended from Gedimin, and their relatives the Princes Riapolooski-Starodooski. The latter were descended from Vsevolod III. Two of the Patrikéevs (father and son) were forced to become monks, and one of the Riapolooskies was beheaded. Then the Grand Prince withdrew his favour from Dmitri, bestowed all his attention on Vasili, and entitled him Sovereign, Grand Prince of Novgorod and Pskov. Dmitri and his mother, the Dowager Grand Princess Elena Stepanovna, were placed under close arrest, and Vasili was solemnly proclaimed Grand Prince and Autocrat of all the Russians. Dmitri died in close captivity in 1509. Some affirm that he was starved to death; but Karamzine refutes the statement. Elena died broken-hearted.

Connected with these family disputes and court parties, there also appeared

at this epoch, in Moscow, the so-called 'Jewish Heresy,' whose members rejected belief in the Holy Trinity, the adoration of images, the veneration of saints, etc. etc. The said 'Heresy' had first become known in Novgorod. According to some, it was brought from the south by a Jew named Zacharias. It is, however, a fact that reformatory ideas had penetrated to Novgorod, particularly from the west, from Germany. At the same time, among the Slavonian Tscheques and Moravians the teaching of John Huss had taken root. Besides, there had previously been the 'Heresy of Strigolnikov' in Novgorod. From that city, along with some of the clergy, the heresy spread to Moscow. There, among other secret adherents of this strange belief, was Zosimus, archimandrite of the Seemonov monastery. Zosimus enjoyed the peculiar favour of Ioann III., and was even promoted to the dignity of metropolitan. The Grand Princess Elena and Feodar Kooritzine, the favourite secretary of Ioann III., also took part in the heresy. Hennadius, Archbishop of Novgorod, was the first who began to persecute the 'Jewish Heresy.' He was joined in this by the eloquent Joseph Sanine, founder of the Volokolamsk monastery. Sanine wrote many works against heretics. Meanwhile, at court the 'Jewish Heresy' was maintained by the Grand Princess Elena, while the Orthodox Greek Church party found support in Sophia. For a lengthened period the Grand Prince took no decided measures against the heretics. Only in 1504, after the death of Sophia, he summoned a council of clergy. Subsequently, one individual convicted of heresy was publicly burned in a cage. Some others guilty had their tongues cut off, or were shut up in prison, or were sent to monasteries. Yet the heresy was not eradicated.

CHAPTER XXXI

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF IOANN III.—WAR WITH LITHUANIA AND LIVONIA

ONE important undertaking of Ioann III. was in the west, whose regions, he felt, should belong to him as a descendant of Saint Vladimir, instead of belonging, as they actually did, to the Princes of Lithuania. King Casimir had no means to carry on open war with Moscow. But, at all events, in intercourse with Novgorod and the Horde, he clearly showed enmity to Ioann, and therefore obliged the latter to seek alliance against Lithuania. Thus, when sending ambassadors to the Crimea, the Grand Prince urged them to prevent Mengli-Girei from making peace with Casimir. A pretext for rupture between Moscow and Lithuania was occasioned by petty princes along the frontier. They were, for the greater part, descended from those of Tscherneev. Some of them

depended on Lithuania, and some on Moscow. These princes, as of old, were constantly at war with each other, and consequently passed from Lithuanian subjects to become those of Moscow. So did the Princes Voroteensk and Bielevsk. Casimir complained, but war did not break out till after his death in 1492. Poland and Lithuania were then divided between his sons. John Albrecht received Poland, and Alexander, Lithuania. Ioann immediately sent his voevodes to Lithuania, and insisted that Mengli-Girei should also send Tartar troops there. It was thus difficult for Lithuania to resist the combined forces of Ioann and Mengli-Girei. So, in order to terminate the strife, a matrimonial alliance was proposed between one of Ioann's daughters and Prince Alexander. But Ioann would in no wise hear of this union, if Lithuania did not cede him the districts he desired, as Lithuanians were perpetually becoming Moscovite subjects. At last Ioann's demands were granted, and peace was concluded.

In 1495 Alexander was married to Elena, daughter of Ioann. The Grand Prince of Moscow demanded that Alexander should in no wise hinder the princess from the free observance of her own religion, and should not urge her to embrace that of Rome; also, that Elena should have a Russo-Greek church in the palace. But Alexander was unwilling to grant these demands. He ceased to entitle his father-in-law 'Autocrat Sovereign of all the Russians'—as Ioann had styled himself in the recent document of peace concluded with Lithuania, and which much offended Alexander. Besides, he refused to let Moscovite nobles remain near Elena. In general, Karamzine states that this marriage was unhappy. The dispute between Ioann and Alexander ended in open war. Lithuanians constantly came from their own country to Moscow. Among them was Prince Bielski, who affirmed that the Russo-Greek Church was harassed in Lithuania. Bielski was followed by other rich princes possessing land. Along with them was one descended from the former sworn enemy of the Moscow princes. We allude to Vasili Ivanovitch, grandson of Shemiaka. He was followed by many others.

War began favourably for the Moscovites. Commanded by Prince Daniel Tscheni, they gained a victory at the rivulet Vedrosh.¹ The Lithuanians were headed by the Hetman, Prince Constantine Ostrojski, who, along with not a few of his countrymen, was made prisoner. At Mstislavl, fortune again favoured the Russians. This war continued for some years. Walter von Plettenberg, Grand Master of the Livonian Order, took part in it. Thanks to his artillery, he defeated the Pskovians and Moscovites at Izborsk (present government of Pskov); but the Russians took revenge by a great victory gained at Helmed. In a third battle, on the banks of the Smoline, the Germans, in

¹ Near Dorogobog, present government of Smolensk.

spite of their small number compared with the Russians, fought desperately, kept their ground, and Plettenberg, with glory, retreated to his own boundaries. This glory was, however, useless. The Order, even when joined by Poland and Lithuania, could not withstand Moscow. Alexander, by the death of his brother John Albrecht, became King of Poland, and was obliged to make peace with Ioann. Through the intervention of the Hungarian ambassador, a truce was concluded for six years. Alexander ceded to his father-in-law all the districts of Lithuanian princes who had become Russian subjects. Among them were the Princes of Starodoob, the grandson of Shemiaka, and others. Peace was also concluded with the Lithuanian Order. In 1492 Ioann founded in Livonia (opposite to Narva) the fort of Ivan-Gorod, or John's Town.

THE CELEBRATED 'SOODEBNIK,' OR CODE OF IOANN III.

One memorable act of Ioann III. was his edition of a Code of Laws, entitled the 'Soodebnik.' It was compiled by a secretary named Vladimir Goosev, and was chiefly derived from the 'Rooskaia Pravda,' or Code of Yaroslav the Great, as well as from other judicial documents and the customs then prevalent in the principality of Moscow. In the 'Soodebnik,' distinct directions are given how justice is to be administered. A so-called 'wicked act' (*i.e.* a capital crime) was to be punished by death. For simple theft and other less important transgressions, there was the so-called 'trading execution,' or public punishment by the knout at the market-place. For each case decided the judge received certain dues from those under judgment. Bribes were strictly prohibited. 'And this was to be publicly proclaimed at the market-place of all towns in Moscovite and Novgorodian land.'

The edition of the 'Soodebnik' is connected with the epoch when the appanaged system had disappeared. While gradually adding various Russian districts to Moscow, Ioann, at the same time, abolished their importance, and introduced in them the judicial judgment administered in his own principality.

In litigations it was allowable to have recourse to judicial duels, or the so-called 'Field of the Judgment of God.' We have already mentioned this subject in a previous chapter. These judicial duels were, however, not to be fatal. The adversaries put on armour, and generally fought with a cudgel. In some cases, old men, women, children, persons maimed, or monks, might choose a champion.

In the 'Soodebnik' we remark the influence of Tartar customs. For example, we therein meet with the knout torture, and, in general, corporal punishment, which we do not find in the 'Rooskaia Pravda.'

Besides paying particular attention to judicial administration, Ioann III. also

did much to augment the military force of Russia. He took into his service Germans and Lithuanians versed in the art of war, and was the first to introduce considerable artillery in Russia.

1505.

DEATH OF IOANN III.—HIS TESTAMENT, HIS DISPOSITION AND CHARACTER
(THE GRAND PRINCESS SOPHIA DIED IN 1503)

Fortunate during his whole life, Ioann III., shortly before his death, was grieved by the sad intelligence that his ally Magmet-Amin (raised to the throne of Kazane by Ioann) had thrown off allegiance to Moscow. He died 27th October 1505, in his sixty-seventh year. He outlived his second consort, the celebrated Sophia Paleologa, only two years. Ioann III. did not entirely wish to abolish the ancient custom hereditary in his family. We allude to that of giving portions to its younger branches. He accordingly assigned districts to his sons, Vasili, Youree, Dmitri, Simeon, André. Vasili, however, as the eldest, received sixty-six of the most considerable towns, while to the four remaining sons only thirty towns were assigned. The right of coining money was exclusively reserved to the Grand Prince. Besides, Ioann III., in his testament, decidedly settled the question concerning the property of those who died without heirs. It was in the following terms that the Grand Prince expressed himself: 'If one of my sons dies without leaving a son or grandson, then his property shall pass to my son Vasili; and the younger brothers shall have no claim whatsoever on this property.'

In order also to confirm the new order of succession to the throne, Ioann III., during his lifetime, obliged his sons Vasili and Youree to make a convention, by which Youree promised not to aim at being Grand Prince in case of Vasili's death, and if he left a son.

Ioann III. was the real founder of Russia's greatness and glory. He accordingly has justly been surnamed 'The Great.' He delivered his country from the Tartar yoke, extended his possessions, confirmed the system of government invested in one sovereign, established order and tranquillity, showed his subjects the way to civilisation and glory, introduced order in judicial judgment, issued useful laws, organised armies, and inspired them with feelings of honour and patriotism. Prudent and cautious, even sometimes to excess, almost tardy in action if haste was unnecessary, well skilled in the refined cunning policy of his age, Ioann III. acted by the law of reason, and always aimed at great deeds. As a reigning sovereign, he showed himself the head not only of civil, but also of clerical affairs. Proud, well aware of his own importance in intercourse with foreign powers, profuse in the reception of ambassadors, he liked pompous

ceremonies, and instituted the custom of kissing a monarch's hand in token of his distinguished flattering favour. While elevating the condition of his country, and surrounding himself with the attributes of majesty, Ioann III. strove to inspire his subjects with veneration for his person, and to make them feel that supreme power is from above. Fortunate in all his undertakings, his successors continued his work. Thus they have raised Russia to the degree of power and glory to which Ioann the Great desired it to attain.

CHAPTER XXXII

FAMILY OF IOANN III., 'THE GREAT'

FIRST consort, Marya Borisovna of Tver, surnamed 'The Good and Gentle.' Ioann and Marya Borisovna had a son, also named Ioann, who died at the age of thirty-two. He married Elena, daughter of Stephen, Hospodar of Moldavia. Ioann the younger and Elena had a son Dmitri, at first declared heir to the throne and solemnly crowned as such by his grandfather. Dmitri was, however, subsequently disinherited in favour of his uncle Vasili. Dmitri died in close captivity (1509). Elena Stepanovna died broken-hearted.

In 1472 Ioann III. was married a second time to Sophia Paleologa, daughter of Thomas of Greece, and niece of the Emperor Constantine.

Ioann III. and Sophia Fomeenishna, *i.e.* daughter of Thomas (Foma), had a numerous family. Their sons were Vasili, Youree, Dmitri, Simeon, and André. The daughters were Elena, who died in infancy, and Theodosia. Elena the younger married Alexander of Lithuania. Theodosia the younger married a Russian prince.¹ Evdokia (pronounce Yevdokéia) married a Christianised Tartar prince, Kooidakul, baptized by the name of Peter.

¹ Vasili Danilovitch Holmski.

PERIOD IV

FROM 1480 TILL THE REIGN OF PETER THE GREAT, 1682-1725

CHAPTER I

REIGN OF VASILII III. (IOANNOVITCH), 1505-1533—INTERCOURSE OF VASILII WITH
THE BOYARDS—HIS DIVORCE

WE already became acquainted with Vasili Ioannovitch at an early age, when he and his mother, Sophia Fomeenishna, were both accused of forming evil designs against the Grand Prince Ioann III., and when the latter prince crowned his unhappy grandson Dmitri as heir to the throne; that took place in 1498. Subsequently there was a struggle between Vasili and Dmitri for the crown. We already saw that, during that struggle, the nobles took the part of Dmitri, while that of Vasili and Sophia was upheld by persons of insignificant position, such as 'boyards' children, secretaries, etc. On Vasili's side there was, however, one famous partisan, Joseph Volotzki, the celebrated antagonist of the so-called 'Jewish Heresy.' Vasili finally triumphed. The opposite party having lost its chief defenders, the Patrikéevs and Riapolooskies, could do nothing after Ioann's death against Vasili and in favour of Dmitri. So, as we have previously mentioned, the career of that unfortunate young prince terminated in strict captivity (1509).

With Vasili's triumph, of course, those who had befriended him during his father's life were also in favour. Moreover, as Vasili had only obtained the throne after a struggle with powerful enemies, or, in other words, the nobles, he could certainly entertain no friendly feeling toward them. He, in fact, viewed them with suspicion, and withdrew from their society. Thus it came to pass that if the nobles complained of Ioann III., and his changed intercourse with them, which they attributed to the influence of Sophia, they were still more discontented with Sophia's son. They even came to the conclusion that they had led an easy life while Ioann yet occupied the throne. He, at least, had still continued to

consider them, and tolerated their opinions, often contrary to his own. But Vasili allowed no contradiction. He transacted business without the boyards while shut up in his own private apartments, and surrounded by a few persons in his immediate attendance. They were a house-steward, Shigon Podjogine, and five secretaries. True, for the sake of form, affairs were referred to the judgment of a Council of Boyards, or the so-called 'Dooma.' But that was merely nominal. In a word, Vasili completed his father's work, and, in reality, became more powerful than any other monarch. He possessed unlimited sway over the life and property of his subjects, whether lay or clerical. Among his advisers none of the boyards dared either to contradict or to counteract his decrees. These details have been confirmed by a wise, intelligent foreigner, then in Moscow. We allude to Baron Herberstein, ambassador of the Emperor Maximilian.

According to Herberstein, 'the magnificence of the Moscovite court, introduced by Ioann III., was still greater during Vasili's reign. On state occasions, such, for example, as the reception of ambassadors, Vasili appeared on an elevated throne, clad in a raiment adorned with precious stones, and wearing the high golden hat of Monomach. Around the throne were the "Reendee," or life-guards, chosen from among young boyards of beautiful appearance. They wore white satin coats, and were armed with silver hatchets. Around, on benches, sat the elder boyards in costly garments and in high fur hats.'

The first place among the nobles of Vasili's court was occupied by Prince Vasili Danilovitch Holmski, brother-in-law of the Grand Prince, and married to his sister, the Princess Theodosia Ioannovna. But, apparently, Holmski had followed in the traces of the Patrikéevs, for he was soon shut up in prison. The boyarine, Bersen Beklemeshev, had loudly complained of the Grand Prince, and sarcastically remarked that 'Vasili Ioannovitch transacted business along with two advisers, and while yet in bed'; also, that 'he followed new customs introduced by his mother, the Princess Sophia.' Bersen, for his indiscretion, had his tongue cut out (according to Soloviev, p. 98), or was beheaded (according to Ilovaiski, p. 114). The metropolitan Varlaam, who also censured Vasili's proceedings, was deposed and shut up in a cloister.

However, there still lived the son of a celebrated father, and himself famed for the lofty mind which had offended Ioann III. We allude to Prince Vasili Patrikéev, forced by Ioann to enter a monastery, and afterwards named Vassian. His surname, 'Kosoi,' signifies a person who squints. But, probably, the Grand Prince Vasili esteemed Vassian 'Kosoi' harmless; for he was permitted to live in Moscow in the Seemonov monastery. Moreover, he received flattering attention from the Grand Prince as a wise, well-read old man of distinguished family.

However, the cloister had not softened Patrikéev. He still continued a bitter strife with Joseph Volotzki, who did not cease to maintain that the remnant of those deluded by the 'Jewish Heresy' should be extirpated by the severest measures. The monks of the Kirilto-Vologda monastery, headed by Vassian Kosoi, opposed the opinions of Joseph. The latter died in 1515. Vassian Kosoi outlived him and continued to combat his opinions. He also still maintained that monasteries should not possess villages. In this he was supported by a famous man, Maximus the Greek. The Grand Prince Vasili had begged the monastic authorities at Mount Athos to send him a learned monk, able to correct old translations of Church books, and to make new translations. In consequence of this request there came to Moscow a monk named Maximus, an Albanian Greek. He had travelled far in Europe, and had studied in Paris, Florence, and Venice. Maximus rendered important services to the Russians. He corrected many books, translated others, wrote against different superstitions and against compositions which spread foolish ideas among the people. Finally, on becoming intimate with Vassian Kosoi, Maximus also wrote that monks should not possess villages. But Maximus and Vassian Kosoi did not succeed in enforcing their opinions, as they both got into trouble regarding the divorce of the Grand Prince.

Vasili Ioannovitch was first married to Solomonida Youréevna Saboorova, daughter of a boyarine (nobleman). This princess had no children. Thus the throne would pass to Vasili's next brother, Youree Ioannovitch. But Vasili was on very bad terms with his brother, and considered him and another brother, André, incapable of administering a state. 'They cannot manage their own districts; so how could they reign?' the Grand Prince was wont to remark.

Karamzine states how very keenly Vasili felt the want of posterity during his first marriage. If he saw a nest full of newly-fledged birds, he would sigh, and exclaim that the parent birds felt a joy he had never known. Besides, if some opposed to Vasili rejoiced at the prospect of his place being filled by a prince less severe, wise, and active, there were also others obliged to him for all they had. They were alarmed at the thought of Vasili dying childless; for then the throne would pass to their enemies, among whom were the Grand Prince's own brothers. One devoted partisan of Vasili was the metropolitan Daniel, promoted to his exalted position after previously being abbot of the Joseph Volotzki monastery. On that very account Daniel was peculiarly distasteful to Vassian Kosoi and all his party. Daniel sanctioned the divorce of the Grand Prince from Solomonida and his second marriage to Elena Vasilievna Glinski, daughter of a Lithuanian emigrant (and niece of Michael Glinski). This proceeding of Vasili, of course,

occasioned great displeasure among those already opposed to him. Vassian Kosoi especially loudly protested against the Grand Prince. Vassian was supported in his opinions by Maximus the Greek. Vassian and Maximus thus lost Vasili's favour. Besides, they were both accused of crimes against the Church, and, therefore, they were shut up in distant monasteries. Vassian died in captivity. Maximus outlived both the Grand Prince and the metropolitan.

Vasili's first consort, Solomonida, was put into a convent. There, according to Karamzine, the unhappy princess was subjected to rude and cruel treatment by the other nuns, who did not even scruple to flog her for supposed want of subordination to conventual rules. Of course these recluses had permission from higher authorities to act thus. Solomonida's crime was that she had given no heir to the throne. Thus Vasili took the law into his own hands. His second consort gave him heirs, but the successor assigned him by Providence was 'John the Terrible.'

THE LAST APPANAGES—ANNEXATION OF PSKOV, RIAZANE, AND THE SIEVERSK PRINCIPALITY TO MOSCOW

Vasili Ioannovitch, without war, annexed Pskov, Riazane, and the Sieversk principality to Moscow. In Pskov the citizens perpetually disputed with the Grand Prince's viceroys from a very simple reason. In other words, the viceroys wished to act according to Moscovite customs. With these the Pskovians were of course unacquainted, and complained of being oppressed.

Towards the close of 1509 the Grand Prince went to Novgorod, and there began to investigate the affairs of his viceroy, Prince Repnine Obalenski, with the citizens of Pskov. The *posadniks* and elders among the merchants were accordingly summoned to Novgorod by Vasili. They were then ordered to assemble at the Prince's court for judgment. Both sides complained of each other. But, suddenly, the Pskovians were seized and locked up under close arrest. At that very time one Pskovian merchant was riding to Novgorod. While on the way he learned what had happened to the *posadnik*. The merchant at once threw away all his goods and rode back at full speed to tell his fellow-citizens. Terror and sadness overwhelmed the Pskovians when they understood that at last their liberty had come to an end. They convoked the *Vietsche*, and there deliberated what means to take in the circumstances. It was decided that resistance was fruitless. The citizens accordingly sent a courier with their submission to Vasili, and with supplications that he would be merciful towards Pskov. In answer to this submission, a secretary, named Dalmatov, rode into the town. He intimated to the citizens two demands in the Grand Prince's name. First, that henceforth

no popular assembly, or Vietsche, should exist in Pskov; and secondly, that the bell of the Vietsche should be taken down. Furthermore, that in all towns of the principality of Pskov there should be Moscovite viceroys. After this intimation the secretary sat down on the steps of the Vietsche, and there awaited an answer. The Pskovians were so overcome with grief, that tears choked their utterance. They asked time for deliberation till the following morning. The remainder of the day and all night they spent in tears, and, while sobbing, embraced each other. At dawn, next day, the citizens for the last time assembled at the Vietsche. They intimated to the ambassador that they did not wish to take the sin of bloodshed on their conscience, and in everything submitted to the Grand Prince, their sovereign. Then the bell of the Vietsche was taken down from the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, and Dalmatov transported the bell to Novgorod, to Vasili. This took place on January 13, 1510. Subsequently, three hundred families, belonging to the better class of citizens of Pskov, were removed to different Moscovite towns, and in the place of the exiles were sent as many families of merchants from the towns of the Moscow principality. One of the first measures of the Moscovite government was to introduce the payment of duty in the interior of Pskov. Hitherto trade there had been quite free.

Ilovaiski (p. 111) mentions that the fall of Pskov's independence is thus poetically described by one annalist of that principality:—

‘O most famous town of great Pskov! Why dost thou mourn and weep?’ Replies the beautiful city of Pskov: ‘How shall I not mourn and weep? A many-winged eagle has flown towards me! His wings were full of lions’ claws! He took from me three cedars of Lebanon! He robbed me of my beauty, my wealth, and mine offspring! Our land is devastated! Our city is ruined! Our market-place is ploughed up! Our brothers have been sent away where our fathers, our grandfathers, and great-grandfathers never were!’

The Grand Prince then sent his functionaries to administer affairs in Pskov and to observe justice. ‘But,’ according to annals, ‘the justice and truth of these functionaries, as well as their oath taken while kissing the cross, all flew up to heaven, and falsehood began to walk about on earth; for the poor Pskovians have not yet seen Moscovite justice!’ Besides, as the annalist truly adds, the real cause of Pskov’s fall was internal discord. ‘The Lord hath sent all these misfortunes upon us for our self-will and want of submission to each other; for malicious calumny and evil deeds; for foolish screaming in the Vietsche, when the head knew not what the tongue uttered!’

The principality of Riazane was also annexed to Moscow without much trouble. We have already seen that Ioann III. administered the affairs of Riazane

during the minority of its Grand Prince Ivan Ivanovitch. Vasili continued this administration in the same manner. But when the Grand Prince of Riazane grew up, he saw that he was nothing else than the viceroy of Vasili. Thus the young man had to choose either to derogate to the position of a prince in service, or to endeavour to obtain his previous dignity. He chose the latter alternative. Vasili of Moscow was accordingly given to understand that the Grand Prince of Riazane was holding intercourse with the Khan of the Crimea. Then Vasili, in 1517, summoned Ivan to Moscow. There he was seized and placed under close arrest. However, in 1521, the Prince of Riazane profited by an invasion of Magmet-Girei, and fled to Lithuania, like so many others, discontented with the Moscovite government.

The inhabitants of Riazane were distinguished by a bold, turbulent disposition. They were accordingly treated as the Novgorodians and Pskovians had been. In other words, whole crowds of Riazane proprietors were sent to Moscow, while Moscovites were removed to Riazane. It was then finally annexed to Vasili's possessions.

In the lands of Sieversk (present government of Tscherneegov), which acknowledged the supreme power of the Grand Prince of Moscow, there reigned two Vasilies—one Simeonovitch (grandson of Ivan of Mojaïsk), Prince of Starodoob, and the other, Ivanovitch, Prince of Novgorod-Sieversk, grandson of Shemiaka. These two princes were bitter enemies; and, although they did not dare to make open civil war, they, notwithstanding, constantly denounced each other to the Grand Prince of Moscow. 'Shemiatschitch' succeeded in expelling his enemy from his patrimonial inheritance, which was afterwards annexed to Moscow (1523). But Shemiatschitch himself, also, was summoned to Moscow, and there cast into a dungeon because accused of holding intercourse with Lithuania.

Ilovaïski (p. 112) mentions how it is narrated that, when the principality of Sieversk was annexed to Moscow, a half-witted man went about that capital with a broom and shouted: 'It is time to cleanse the State from the last dirt!' (*i.e.* to depose the last appanaged prince).

WAR WITH LITHUANIA

Vasili's enemies hoped to profit by the strife of different parties at his court. Among those enemies were his brother-in-law, Alexander of Lithuania, and the Livonian Master, Plettenberg. They daily awaited the news of civil discord in Moscow, and, accordingly, were prepared to act in consequence. But they were mistaken. All continued quiet in Moscow. Soon afterwards Alexander of Lithuania died (1506). He left no children. Vasili then endeavoured, without

war, to annex Lithuania and Western Russia to Moscow. He even sent to his sister, Queen Elena, to beg that she would urge the Lithuanians to acknowledge him as their sovereign. But Elena replied that a King of Poland, and at the same time Prince of Lithuania, was already elected in the person of Alexander's brother, Sigismund I. (son of Casimir). Notwithstanding, that change in Lithuania was not effected without violent civil discord and sedition, of which Vasili in turn thought to take advantage.

A special favourite of the deceased King Alexander was a certain Prince Michael Glinski. He had long lived abroad; and everywhere he had managed to gain the confidence of others, for his mental endowments were superior. He was, besides, enlightened and well skilled in the military art. The great partiality shown by Alexander to Glinski, as well as the power and wealth of the latter, aroused the jealousy and enmity of other Lithuanian nobles. In this wise, the new King Sigismund was already prejudiced against Glinski, and evidently took the part of his enemies. Glinski accordingly withdrew from court. He went to his own estate, and there he began to hold correspondence with Vasili of Moscow. Vasili promised to aid Glinski in subduing all his enemies. In 1507 hostile movements began by Moscovite forces invading Lithuania. Glinski excited the Russians there to revolt, and then he joined Vasili's army. Sigismund saw no hope of successfully terminating the war; so he resolved to make great concessions. In other words, he permanently ceded to Vasili all the possessions acquired by Ioann III. This perpetual peace, or 'termination,' as it was then called, was concluded in September 1568, after which Glinski and his friends were allowed free entrance to Moscow from Lithuania.

It is, however, comprehensible that Glinski was in no wise satisfied with the said peace. He thereby lost hope of success in his plans. He was first of all forced to quit his own country and to give up valuable estates there. Besides, the Grand Prince of Moscow could neither reward Glinski by bestowing on him extensive landed property, nor by giving him distinguished rank at the Moscovite court. For these reasons it was that the gifted, adroit Glinski used every possible means to obtain his former position; but in order to do so, a new war must ensue between Moscow and Lithuania. Circumstances meanwhile favoured his designs. Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg, and at the same time Master of the Teutonic Order, was preparing for war with the King of Poland. The Emperor, the other German princes, and the Livonians upheld Albrecht. In Moscow, pretexts for war were reports concerning the harassment to which Vasili's sister, the Dowager-Queen Elena, was exposed, and also King Sigismund's endeavours to excite the Crimean Tartars against Moscow. War

accordingly began in 1512. Three times Vasili besieged Smolensk, but only in 1514, 29th July, did that strong city surrender. Glinski then hoped that the Grand Prince of Moscow would give up Smolensk to him, but he was disappointed in his expectations; and, seeing that he had nothing more to hope from Moscow, he began to hold intercourse with King Sigismund. The latter willingly agreed to admit Glinski again into his service. However, the treachery was discovered; Glinski was arrested, and brought back in chains to Moscow. The triumph of taking Smolensk was, however, lessened by a great defeat of the Moscovites at Orsha, 8th September 1514 (government of Mogilev). There Prince Constantine Ostrojski—again commander of the Lithuanian forces—avenged himself on the Moscovites for their victory gained at the river Vedrosh. But King Sigismund obtained no advantage from the success at Orsha. He could not retake Smolensk, and Vasili considered it a sufficient remuneration for all his losses. After the battle at Orsha, the war was prolonged for seven years without any considerable progress on either side. At length, in 1522, a truce was concluded, during which Smolensk was assigned to Moscow till the ratification of permanent peace. But permanent or ‘everlasting peace,’ according to the expression then used, was not concluded between Moscow and Lithuania either during the sixteenth or the first quarter of the seventeenth century, exactly on account of Smolensk, which either side could consent to cede permanently only in extreme circumstances.

1512-1514—
Surrender of
Smolensk.

1522—Truce
with Lithuania.

WAR WITH THE CRIMEA AND WITH KAZANE

During the Lithuanian war, Vasili was in alliance with Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg and Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, who gave Moscow pecuniary aid in the struggle with Poland. King Sigismund also spared no expense to excite the Crimean Tartars against Vasili. It was, in fact, during his reign that ruinous incursions of Crimean Tartars in Russia commenced. The alliance with Mengli-Girei, so advantageous to Ioann III., terminated at the commencement of Vasili's reign. Mengli-Girei no longer feared the remains of the Golden Horde. He saw no disturbance in the direction of Turkey. In Moscow, instead of the experienced, famous Ioann III., so remarkable for his success and power, the throne was occupied by his young son, surrounded by dangers, and therefore unable to inspire barbarians with esteem and awe. Besides, Mengli-Girei had grown old and weak. There was, moreover, near him a whole crowd of grasping sons, relatives, and princes. Those greedy Tartars with eagerness seized Sigismund's presents, and in return for them promised to devastate Moscovite territory. It was, however, also more profitable

for the Crimean Tartars to receive gifts both from Moscow and from Lithuania, and to promise aid to those who gave most. The Crimeans, in fact, profited by the animosity between those two states, took bribes from them, and devastated the possessions of both. Indeed, the Crimean Tartars henceforth became rapacious robbers, who adhered to no conditions whatsoever. In this perplexity Vasili tried another means: that was, to make alliance with the Sultan of Turkey, who, as supreme commander of the Mohammedans, might prevent the Crimean Khan from invading Russia. But the Sultan always avoided any proposals of alliance with Moscow; there was no common interest between Russia and Turkey. Besides, the Sultan was unwilling to see the remains of Bati's empire in the possession of Christians. The Sultan therefore deemed it his duty to defend the Tartars against Russia. In reply to proposals of alliance with Vasili, the Sultan openly demanded that the Grand Prince of Moscow would not attack Kazane, with which demand Vasili, of course, could not comply.

We already saw that shortly before the death of Ioann III., Magmet-Amin, Khan of Kazane, betrayed Moscow. Accordingly, Vasili at once endeavoured to subdue the rebel. The first Moscovite expedition against Kazane was unsuccessful; but, when preparations for a second were made in Moscow, Magmet-Amin sent to ask for peace on previous conditions. They were granted, and Magmet-Amin observed them till his death, which occurred in 1518. As he left no children, the question arose—'Who was to be Khan of Kazane?'

This was difficult to decide, as far as the Crimea was concerned. Mengli-Girei's son and successor, Magmet-Girei, ardently desired that all Tartar possessions should be united under sway of the Gireis' dynasty of the Crimea, which Moscow decidedly opposed. So Vasili bestowed Kazane on a relative of the Gireis; he was Shig-Ali, grandson of Achmat, living in Russia. But Shig-Ali soon became unpopular with the nobles of Kazane; they accordingly conspired against him. They next held intercourse with the Crimea, and when, in 1521, Magmet-Girei's brother, Saip-Girei, appeared with Crimean forces at Kazane, the city surrendered to him without resistance, and Shig-Ali fled to Moscow. At the same time, Magmet-Girei moved towards the banks of the Oka, overthrew the Moscovite voevode, and marched directly towards the capital. In another direction the new Khan of Kazane, Saip-Girei, after devastating the districts of Nijni-Novgorod and Vladimir, joined the forces of his brother. Meanwhile, Vasili, taken unawares, left Moscow and went to Volokolamsk (government of Moscow) in order to assemble forces. But, after all, the Khan, who owed his success to sudden movements, could not long remain before Moscow; so he went to Riazane, where he had no better success. He therefore

withdrew from Russian possessions, accompanied by a large number of prisoners whom he had taken.

The following passage we quote from Ilovaiski (p. 113):—‘According to some statements, the Crimean Khan only consented to quit Moscow when the voevode there gave him a document in the Grand Prince’s name, promising that he would pay an annual tribute to the Khan. As we have already seen, while retreating, Magmet-Girei halted at Periaslavl-Riazanski, commanded at that time by a brave voevode named Habar. The Khan endeavoured to take the town by stratagem; so he ordered the Moscovite document to be shown to Habar. When the latter received the document, he immediately ordered to fire upon the enemy. A Riazane cannoneer, Iordan, a German, fired successfully, and killed many of the Tartars. The Khan then hastened to leave the town, and the shameful document remained in possession of Habar. The latter was rewarded for his bravery by being raised to the rank of a boyarine, and orders were given to inscribe his exploit in annals of the state. The Tartars then retreated.’

The Grand Prince of Moscow was meanwhile unable openly to punish the Crimean Khan, but could only take precautionary measures against his future invasions. Soon afterwards Magmet was killed by a Nogaisk prince. Vasili, however, did punish the Khan of Kazane; Saip-Girei was expelled, and in his stead Vasili elected Enalei, brother of Shig-Ali.

Moreover, Vasili dealt a decided blow against the trade of Kazane; he prohibited Russian merchants from going there. But in order that they might elsewhere hold intercourse with Asia, he instituted the Market of Makārev (now the Fair of Nijni-Novgorod), on the Volga. That market or fair subsequently 1524. became famous.

At this epoch Vasili had intercourse with Rome, with the Emperor Charles v., and concluded alliance with Gustavus Vasa of Sweden. Ambassadors from Baboora, ruler of Hindustan, also appeared in Moscow, to seek the alliance and friendship of its Grand Prince (1532).

At the period of which we now write, a great change was, however, in store for Russia. Vasili Ioannovitch, hitherto hale in mind and body, suddenly 1533—Death of Vasili. fell ill, and died in his fifty-fourth year.

‘The last collector of Russian lands,’ although in no wise endued with the talents of Ioann III., notwithstanding followed his policy. In other words, Vasili constantly aimed at abolishing the appanaged system, and endeavoured to form Russia into one vast state.

Vasili, by his second marriage to Elena Glinski, left two infant sons, Ioann

and Youree. The former was only three years old, and was already blessed by his father as the future Grand Prince of Russia.

CHAPTER II

REIGN OF IOANN IV. (VASILIEVITCH 'THE TERRIBLE'), 1533-1584—REGENCY OF THE DOWAGER GRAND PRINCESS ELENA VASILIEVNA, 1533-1538—SEDITION AT THE COURT OF IOANN—INTERIOR ADMINISTRATION—WAR WITH LITHUANIA, 1536—BATTLE AT THE SEBEJSK LAKE—WAR WITH KAZANE, 1536—TRUCE WITH LITHUANIA, 1537—DEATH OF THE GRAND PRINCESS DOWAGER REGENT, ELENA VASILIEVNA, APRIL 1538

IOANN IV. (VASILIEVITCH) was born August 25, 1530. When his father, Vasili Ioannovitch, was on his death-bed, he intimated that his infant son and heir, Ioann, should be placed under the guardianship of his mother, the Grand Princess Elena Vasilievna, along with a council formed of Vasili's brothers and twenty boyards. According to Ilovaiski (p. 115), Elena was a spirited, capable princess, possessed of a very decided disposition. The people then took an oath of allegiance to Ioann, and Elena was proclaimed Regent. Among the members of the council destined to aid Elena in the administration of state affairs, we find the names of Michael Glinski (the Regent's uncle), as well as those of the Princes Bielski, Shooiski, Obalenski, etc. We are indeed already acquainted with Michael Glinski. After the marriage of his niece to the Grand Prince Vasili, Michael Glinski was released from prison and attached to the court.

SEDITION AT THE COURT OF IOANN

Immediately after Vasili's funeral, sedition broke out at the court of Ioann. At this epoch Russia was under the yoke of the nobles, and evil passions raged during the first years of the youthful monarch's reign. Denunciations were brought to the Regent against Ioann's eldest uncle, Prince Youree Ioannovitch of Staritza (government of Tver). The Shooiskies accused him of evil designs and of a desire to seize the sceptre. Youree was accordingly at once arrested, shut up in a dungeon, and there starved to death. Princes Ivan Bielski and Voroteenski were likewise imprisoned for supposed treachery.

At this epoch Elena's chief advisers were her uncle Michael Glinski and Prince Ivan Ovtchine Telepnev Obalenski. Glinski endeavoured to enact the chief part at court, and meanwhile he could in no wise be at peace with

Obalenski. Elena was thus forced to choose which of the two must be sacrificed. She decided that it should be her uncle. He was accordingly accused of ambitious designs and placed in his former dungeon. There he was tortured and soon afterwards died. Many other nobles also had the same fate. In this wise, great agitation prevailed amongst them; not a few fled to Lithuania, while some were seized for connivance with the fugitives. Soon another uncle of the Grand Prince lost his freedom and his life; we allude to André Ioannovitch, Prince of Staritza. There were persons who constantly strove to make dispeace between the Regent and André. Elena was told that André was discontented and angry with her. On the other hand, André was given to understand that in Moscow he was to be arrested. Thus, when the Regent summoned him there for consultation on state affairs, he refused to appear, and feigned illness. During this interval reports from Staritza were brought to Moscow that André was on the point of fleeing to Lithuania. Elena thereupon sent a force to seize him. André meanwhile quitted Staritza and rushed to the districts of Novgorod, where he persuaded many landed proprietors to revolt. Then the forces of the Grand Principality advanced, under command of the Regent's favourite, Prince Telepnev Obalenski. André, however, did not fight. He agreed to go to Moscow along with Obalenski, when the latter faithfully promised that there no harm would happen to him. But Elena severely reproved Obalenski for making this promise without her knowledge or permission. She immediately ordered André to be loaded with chains and cast into a dungeon, where he also met with a violent death. These, and many other evil deeds, were meanwhile committed in the name of a sovereign who, from his tender age, could not yet distinguish between truth and falsehood. Nay, more, acts of cruelty, malice, envy, and unbridled passion were considered as proofs of zeal in his service.

INTERIOR ADMINISTRATION

The Regent next turned all her attention to Kazane, Lithuania, and the Crimea. Sigismund, whose bodily strength alone was enfeebled by age, still retained enmity towards Russia. He hoped to exact from an infant sovereign what could not be obtained from his father,

WAR WITH LITHUANIA, 1534

The King of Poland accordingly urged Islam, Khan of the Crimea, to join 1534. his party. Sigismund's forces then invaded Russia, but were defeated at Tscherneegov and Smolensk. Russia then declared war on Lithuania, and

Russian arms penetrated even to Vilna. After devastating all Lithuania, the Russian troops returned, laden with booty and accompanied by many prisoners. During another expedition the Russians founded in Lithuania, on the banks of the Sebejsk Lake, a fort named Ivan-Gorod (*i.e.* John's Town). Sigismund, although alarmed by this act, notwithstanding did not lose courage. After allowing Russia to devastate Lithuania unmolested, he was strengthened by reinforcements from the Crimea. Then he sent armies to the southern regions of Russia. He took Gomel (government of Mogeelev) and Starodoob (government of Tscherneegov) also, after a bloody battle.

WAR WITH KAZANE, 1536

At this epoch war broke out between Moscow and Kazane. Its inhabitants conspired against the Moscovite assistant, Emalei, and put him to death. Then they chose a Crimean prince, Safa-Girei, to reign over them. The Russians defeated large forces of Kazane and the Tscheremeesi tribes, but the threats of the Crimean Khan prevented the Moscovite government from acting decidedly against Kazane.

BATTLE AT THE SEBEJSK LAKE—TRUCE WITH LITHUANIA, 1537

1537.

The fort at Sebejsk meanwhile greatly disquieted Sigismund; he therefore ordered his armies to take it at all hazards. A bloody struggle then ensued at the Sebejsk Lake. Sigismund's forces suffered great loss, and nearly all perished. This urged him to think of peace; but it could not be concluded because the conditions on both sides were too exacting. Only a truce for five years was formed (1537).

DEATH OF THE GRAND PRINCESS REGENT, ELENA VASILIEVNA, APRIL 1538

1538.

The Dowager Princess Regent, Elena Vasilievna, in spite of her able administration, was hated by the people on account of her tyranny and the immorality of her private life. She allowed her favourite, Prince Ivan Ovtshine Telepnev Obalenski, openly to pay her too much attention. A change was accordingly desired by many. Elena, meanwhile, though still in the bloom of youth and of flourishing health, suddenly fell ill and died, April 1538. Ilovaiski (p. 115) affirms that she is said to have been poisoned by the boyards. Their power was certainly confirmed by her death. Karamzine states that Elena was interred on the very same day of her decease, and that it is not recorded if the metropolitan was present at the funeral. The above-mentioned historian likewise adds, that although Elena Vasilievna strictly observed all the outward

forms of religion, according to the rites of the Russo-Greek Church, by performing frequent pilgrimages, etc., the people had no respect for a princess who did not respect herself.

CHAPTER III

REIGN OF IOANN IV. (*continued*)—INVASION OF THE CRIMEAN TARTARS, 1541

AFTER the removal of the Patrikévs, the Riapolooskies, the Holmskies, the 1541. first place among the Moscovite nobles was occupied by the Shooiskies, descended from the Souzdal Nijni-Novgorod princes. The latter were deprived of their patrimony by the Grand Prince Vasili Dmitrievitch, and for long afterwards were unwilling to submit to their fate; indeed, only during the reign of Ioann III. did they consent to enter the service of Moscow. Ability, energy, perseverance, unbounded ambition, characterised these famous Shooiskies. Their chief representative at this epoch was a prince named Vasili Vasilievitch, who, during the reign of the Grand Prince Vasili, had distinguished himself by defending Smolensk against Lithuania. On that particular occasion Vasili Shooiski displayed great decision and cruelty.

According to Ilovaiski (p. 116): 'The following incident fully proves the true character of Shooiski:—

'When Vasili III. took possession of Smolensk he left a viceroy there in the person of Prince Vasili Shooiski. After the defeat of the Russians at Orsha, many of the better classes in Smolensk held intercourse with Lithuania, urged it to take the town again, and promised their aid to do so. On learning this, Vasili Shooiski seized the chief conspirators, and when the Lithuanians appeared before Smolensk he ordered the arrested culprits to be hanged at the town wall, and along with them presents received from the Grand Prince of Moscow. Some, for example, wore expensive fur pelisses, while around the necks of others were suspended silver spoons, gold goblets, etc. When no traitors in the town appeared, the Lithuanian forces withdrew.'

On the seventh day after the Regent's death, the Shooiskies decided the fate of her favourite, Prince Ivan Ovtschine Telepnev Obalenski, and also that of his sister Agrippina, nurse of the infant sovereign Ioann. In fact, when Vasili Shooiski declared himself the head of the government, all his vengeance was specially directed against those immediately surrounding the Grand Prince's person. Both the Obalenskies (*i.e.* brother and sister) were arrested and cast into a dungeon. There Ivan was starved to death; his sister was then forced

to go into a cloister. The intercession of the young sovereign, accompanied by his cries and tears, availed not. Shooiski only repulsed him with disdain.

As an opponent of the Shooiskies (descended from Rurik) appeared the boyarine Ivan Bielski, descended from Gedimin and related to the Patrikéévs. But the Shooiskies were more powerful; and although the metropolitan Daniel took Bielski's side, he was, notwithstanding, imprisoned. The Metropolitan, however, remained safe, but not for a lengthened period. When Vasili Shooiski died, and his place was filled by his brother Ivan, he deposed Daniel and in his stead elected Jehoshaphat. That metropolitan, nevertheless, did not continue to take the part of the Shooiskies.

Ivan Shooiski, the new Regent, was a coarse, selfish man, whose overbearing pride offended all. His partisans carried on furious proceedings in whole districts, plundered citizens, oppressed field-labourers, loaded them with unjust imposts, approved and rewarded false accusations. In a word, at this unhappy time wealth and virtue were the sure prognostics of death. And, as if to add to other misfortunes, the Crimean Khan assumed a threatening aspect, and the Kazane Tartars invaded Russia (1540).

1540. Meanwhile the metropolitan Jehoshaphat turned against the Shooiskies. Aided by the boyards (1540), and with the young sovereign's consent, this metropolitan, to the great grief of Shooiski, liberated Ivan Bielski. Shooiski, taken unawares, was forced to quit his post. It then passed into the hands of Bielski and of the metropolitan Jehoshaphat. The new administrators hastened to liberate from prison Ioann's cousin, Prince Vladimir Andréévitch of Staritza (government of Tver), and to restore him his district; but in spite of that, their party was weaker than that of the Shooiskies. Finally, the latter formed a conspiracy. At the beginning of 1542, Shooiski came from Vladimir to Moscow with an armed force. Bielski was seized, imprisoned at Bielo-ozero (government of Novgorod), and there put to death. His chief advisers were dispersed. The metropolitan was deposed with dishonour, and in his stead Macarius was elected.

While Bielski ruled the State Council, he acted wisely and well. Ivan Shooiski did not, however, long survive these events. Administrative power then passed to one of his relatives, André Michaelovitch Shooiski. But the new Regent considered Prince Feodor Simeonovitch Vorontzov as very dangerous, because he had managed to please the young sovereign and to gain his confidence. In Ioann's presence the Shooiskies and their adherents fell upon Vorontzov, well-nigh killed him, beat him unmercifully, and sent him in exile to a distant spot, in spite of Ioann's entreaties.

1541.

At this epoch the Crimean Khan, Saip-Girei, at the head of a large force,

invaded Russia. In these trying circumstances the young Ioann displayed qualities worthy of a brave monarch. He animated his troops, and reconciled nobles at enmity with each other. Then all swore to die for their country, their religion, and their prince. A large army soon assembled and appeared on the banks of the Oka. The Khan was then defeated in several actions, and finally fled.

CHAPTER IV

IOANN'S EARLY EDUCATION—HIS FIRST ACTS OF INDEPENDENCE, 1543

THE outward foes of Russia were thus repulsed; but other still more formidable¹⁵⁴³ inward enemies remained. The Skooskies, without knowing it, were preparing a terrible calamity for the country in general, and from which they themselves were in particular to suffer, in the education they gave their young sovereign. He was meanwhile growing up. Nature had highly gifted the youthful prince. He had remarkable capacities, a lively, susceptible imagination, easily excited, and a tendency to unusually ardent passions. The latter peculiarity, if not entirely produced, was doubtless fostered to the highest degree by his early training, and the exceptional circumstances of his childhood. After his mother's death, Ioann was surrounded by individuals who only thought of their own personal interests. Before the child's eyes a strife of parties took place; and we have already seen what forms that strife assumed. To beat, to plunder an adversary, to exile him, to put him to death, to degrade and depose the most distinguished pastors of the Church, even the metropolitan—such were acts of daily occurrence. The orphan prince was separated from those nearest him, and whom he loved. In his very presence they were shamefully insulted. Then they were cast into prison, tortured, and put to death; while beside him, the Shooiskies and their friends allowed themselves to blacken the memory of his parents. For we know that the nobles disliked the Grand Prince Vasili Ioannovitch and his second consort. Ioann was all the more deeply wounded by these proceedings, because he already well understood his destination. He knew that he was a sovereign; for those very persons who, on the one hand, so deeply offended him, who frightened him and paid no attention to his tears and entreaties—those very persons, during any court ceremony, such, for example, as the reception of ambassadors, stood around his throne with the air of humble servants. In this wise the royal child was accustomed to consider the nobles as his enemies; but to hinder their acts of violence, or to struggle with them, was impossible. Powerless, anger, irritation, grief, humiliation rankled in his mind and soured his

disposition. The child concealed his resentment till a convenient season. But how will he avenge himself on his enemies? In what way will he act towards those hateful to him? Certainly in the same manner which they themselves taught him. Or, in other words, he will use violence, hasty, unpremeditated judgment of offenders. Ioann, even in his early childhood, already showed very bad propensities. For example, he delighted in tormenting animals. Meanwhile, individuals whose duty it was to watch over him never hindered his evil habits, but allowed him to do what he liked. The Shooiskies, desiring to obtain the first places in the state, endeavoured to gain the young prince's favour by granting all his wishes. These bad advisers surrounded him only by jesters and persons of depraved life. His amusements consisted in rough, noisy games. He, in fact, became accustomed to cruelty, to inhumanity, to the coarsest vices. The most shameful scenes were enacted before his eyes. It is said by Ilovaiski (p. 117) that Ioann delighted in driving about in the streets of Moscow, along with a crowd of young nobles of his own age, and when they, on purpose, rode over the passers-by, the youthful prince was in fits of laughter. Another favourite amusement of Ioann was to assemble a large number of citizens before the palace windows. A wolf or a bear was then let loose, and the more the savage animal frightened, knocked down, or bit the poor people, the louder was the merriment of the vicious young sovereign and his depraved courtiers. They indeed purposely thus acted, in order to withdraw his attention from serious affairs, little thinking that a storm was about to burst forth on the guilty themselves. For Ioann soon assumed a more and more threatening aspect; and the very first who suffered from his vengeance was the ruling nobleman, André Shooiski. Irritated by his violence towards Vorontzov, Ioann suddenly attacked Shooiski, who was immediately seized and cast out to be torn in pieces by furious dogs!

This took place according to Ioann's orders, and towards the close of 1543, when he was only thirteen years old. The relatives and partisans of the Shooiskies were also disgraced. Subsequently, many of them were executed. Even Vorontzov, the previous favourite of Ioann, did not escape execution also. Vorontzov had again appeared at court, and there endeavoured to take Shooiski's place as ruler. But although Ioann, on account of his youth, could not yet transact serious affairs, he, notwithstanding, already showed determination to let none contradict him. Like his father, he accordingly began to surround himself by undistinguished persons, such as secretaries, etc. In this wise the reign of the Shooiskies terminated. Their place was, however, filled by the Glinskies, Ioann's uncles by the mother's side, and for some years afterwards disorder of the nobles' administration was still prolonged.

1543—Ioann declares himself independent when only thirteen years old.

CHAPTER V

IOANN'S CORONATION, 16TH JANUARY 1547—HE TAKES THE TITLE OF CZAR—HIS FIRST MARRIAGE WHEN SEVENTEEN—GREAT FIRES IN MOSCOW, JUNE 21, 1547—SYLVESTER AND ADASHEV—HAPPY CHANGES IN IOANN'S DISPOSITION AND IN HIS ADMINISTRATION OF RUSSIA—IOANN ENDEAVOURS TO PROMOTE THE GOOD OF HIS COUNTRY—THE 'SOODEBNIK,' OR COLLECTION OF LAWS, 1550—RURAL COUNCIL, CLERICAL COUNCIL, 1551—THE 'STOGLAV,' OR CODE OF A HUNDRED CHAPTERS—CONQUEST OF KAZANE, 2ND OCTOBER 1552

THE year 1547 was a remarkable epoch in Ioann's reign, for then he was crowned, January 16. 1547—16th
January,
Ioann's
coronation.

Unfortunately for the young monarch, he had from his early childhood been accustomed to cherish inimical feelings towards those around him, who had usurped his rights and treated him with disrespect. Ioann consequently viewed all his nobles with suspicion, and only thought of means to establish his power over them. Accordingly, at the beginning of 1547, when sixteen, he was solemnly crowned. He then also took the title of Czar,¹ which indicated more absolute power than the previous title of Grand Prince. Soon afterwards, Ioann was married for the first time, at seventeen. His choice fell on Anastasia Romanovna, daughter of a deceased boyarine named Roman Yourévitch Zaharine Koshkine, whose ancestors had occupied the first places during the reign of Vasili Dmitrievitch. Roman's brother, the boyarine Michael Youriévitich, was one of those nobles immediately surrounding the person of Ioann's father, the Grand Prince Vasili Ioannovitch.

The marriage of Ioann and Anastasia was a singularly happy one. The wise young Czarine soon gained the confidence of her husband. She had the greatest influence on him, and, in turn, possessed his sincere affection.

'Popular songs,' says Ilovaiski (p. 131), 'have great sympathy with only one boyarine (nobleman) of Ioann's court. That nobleman was Nikita (Nicetas) Romanovitch, brother of the Czarine Anastasia Romanovna.' From historical documents, he appears also to have been the only person towards whom the subsequently 'Terrible' Ioann, till the end of his life, entertained unaltered esteem.

Nikita Romanovitch Zaharine Koshkine died in 1585 (one year after Ioann's decease). The sons of Nikita afterwards only took the family name of Romanov.

¹ The title of Czar is now obsolete, though foreigners still persist in using it. The present sovereigns of Russia are Emperors, but no longer Czars.

GREAT FIRES IN MOSCOW, JUNE 21, 1547

In the month of February, 1547, the royal wedding took place. During the following month of April there were two fires in Moscow. Indeed, such misfortunes were by no means rare in a capital where closely built, irregular wooden buildings prevailed. Nay, more, at that epoch, fires were speedily forgotten, from the abundance of building material and the ease with which new tenements were erected on the ashes of former dwellings. But on June 21, 1547, an unusually terrible fire took place in Moscow. The flames first appeared in a street of the city, still named the Arbat. A violent hurricane heightened the disaster, and soon the whole town became a raging sea of fire. The devouring element speedily consumed the greater part of the capital, and, according to Soloviev (p. 108), one thousand seven hundred persons then perished. In fact, none remembered so grievous a calamity. Thereupon Ioann and the court withdrew to a neighbouring village named Vorobiēva, now called the Sparrow Hills, from Vorobēi, a sparrow. But the misfortune did not terminate even then. The boyards told Ioann that Moscow had purposely been burned by evil-minded individuals, practising the black art. Ioann immediately ordered the affair to be investigated. The boyards therefore assembled the people in streets and open spaces of the city. 'Who has set fire to Moscow?' was henceforth the general question. In reply, the populace shouted that the city had been burned by the witchcraft of the Princess Anna Glinskaia and her sons. This report was probably raised by their enemies. In fact the populace thus replied because the Glinskies (relatives of Ioann by his mother) were those nearest the sovereign's person. Besides, the servants of the Glinskies, profiting by their masters' power, oppressed the common people, and the Glinskies did not restrain that oppression. Ioann's own uncle, Prince Youree Vasilievitch Glinski, on hearing the people's opinion of his mother and himself, hastened to take refuge in the Cathedral of the Assumption (at the Kremlin). But the other boyards were also enemies of the Glinskies, on account of their influence over Ioann, and accordingly urged the people to excess. A crowd then followed Youree Glinski into the cathedral, and there put him to death. Many of his followers were then also killed. The palace was next plundered. Finally, the populace rushed to the village of Vorobieva, assembled before the royal dwelling, and there demanded with shouts that Ioann should deliver up his grandmother, the Princess Anna Glinskaia, and her other son Michael, to the vengeance of the multitude. In reply, Ioann ordered the leaders of the rebels to be seized and executed. The others were alarmed, and afterwards dispersed; whereupon the sedition terminated.

SYLVESTER AND ADASHEV—HAPPY CHANGE IN IOANN'S DISPOSITION AND IN HIS ADMINISTRATION OF RUSSIA—IOANN ENDEAVOURS TO PROMOTE THE GOOD OF HIS COUNTRY

The terrible fire in Moscow, and the subsequent agitation of the people, produced a deep impression on the mind of the young sovereign, whose ardent nature was so keenly alive to surrounding influences; for even the virtuous Anastasia had not entirely succeeded in restraining her consort's violent passions, and counter-acting the bad results of his early education. From a thoughtless youth, intent only on pleasure, Ioann suddenly changed into a serious man. He also became religious, and was unwearied in transacting affairs of state. Ioann, as on previous occasions, had lost all confidence in persons of distinguished birth. He accordingly became intimate with Sylvester, arch-priest of the Annunciation Cathedral, at the Moscow Kreml, and consequently attached to the service of the court. Ioann also formed a friendship for a young man of the bedchamber, Alexei Feodorovitch Adashev, of undistinguished family, but known for his virtue. Adashev was subsequently promoted to the position of Okolnitchi, as the individuals immediately near the sovereign's person were called.

It is recorded that during the fearful fire in Moscow (June 21, 1547), when Ioann's mind was so deeply impressed by the terrible calamity, Sylvester advanced towards his sovereign, and, with upraised hand, in solemn tones thus addressed him: 'Sire! the ruin of Moscow is God's chastisement for thy lawless deeds! The judgment of Heaven likewise hangs over thine own head!'

These words powerfully acted on the impressionable mind of Ioann. He shed tears of repentance. Two years subsequent to the great fire, Ioann, ardent in his nature, wished to confess before all Moscow, before all Russia, the errors of his youth, to intimate that he himself had seized the reins of government, and that previous oppression from the boyards would cease.

In 1550, chosen citizens from towns were ordered to come to Moscow. When they had assembled one Sunday, Ioann, holding aloft the cross, went to the 'Lobnoe Miesto' (*i.e.* place of public execution, an elevation raised on the Red or Beautiful Square, an open space still bearing that name, and near the Kreml). There, after prayer was offered up, the young sovereign turned towards the metropolitan, and publicly acknowledged all the disorder which had existed during his minority, and during the administration of the boyards. He further intimated that he was not responsible for all the tears and blood then shed. Finally, turning towards the people, Ioann implored them to forget the past, promised

them justice in future and defence from oppression. He likewise vowed henceforth to become a better man; and indeed he appeared as such. Then all was changed. Those who had hitherto corrupted him were removed, and his court was filled with persons worthy to be there.

1550.

On the very day when Ioann made a public acknowledgment of evil committed during the first years of his reign, he ordered Alexis Adashev to receive petitions from the poor, or those who had suffered wrong, and to choose just judges. Thus did Sylvester and Adashev guard Ioann's throne as a hallowed spot, to which none unworthy might approach!

THE 'SOODEBNIK' (COLLECTION OF LAWS), 1550—RURAL COUNCIL—CLERICAL COUNCIL, 1515—THE 'STOGLAV,' OR CODE OF A HUNDRED CHAPTERS (FROM 'STO,' A HUNDRED, AND 'GLAVA,' A CHAPTER)

1550.

This was the happy epoch of Ioann's reign. He showed benevolence and mercy towards his subjects. Not only so: he also endeavoured to establish their prosperity by wise administration. The fruit of his labour and that of his most distinguished boyards was a new 'Soodebnik,' or Collection of Laws, in accordance with the wants of the epoch, and with circumstances. For the old 'Soodebnik' of his grandfather was incomplete.

To improve civil administration, Ioann likewise assembled in Moscow chosen individuals from different towns and from various conditions of the people. This was a so-called 'Zemski Sobor,' or Rural Council.

1551.

In 1551 a Clerical Council was also held. In it, arch-priests received an account of all disorder in the Church. To lessen it their co-operation was necessary. Ioann then also confided to the clergy the care of correcting Church books, of eradicating superstition, and of confirming the true faith. To the clergy also were intrusted the duties of forming suitable pastors of the Church, and of founding schools. One duty of this council was, besides, to select members of the clergy who could read and write, for, according to Karamzine, some, at that remote epoch, were unable to do so, and, consequently, they used to learn the Church service by heart.

This Council issued a collection of statutes entitled the 'Stoglav,' so-called from the number of its chapters being a hundred. (*Sto*, a hundred; *glava*, a chapter.)

CONQUEST OF KAZANE, 2ND OCTOBER 1552

At this epoch, while the young sovereign's efforts were chiefly directed towards acts of interior administration, his attention was also turned to the Tartar Empires

of Kazane and the Crimea. We already saw that at the termination of the Grand Princess Elena's Regency, these two states were united under the dynasty of the Gireis, and thus became very formidable to Russia. Safa-Girei of Kazane devastated the districts of Mórom and Kostroma. Saip-Girei of the Crimea, with his whole horde, advanced towards the Oka. But in Kazane there were two parties, the Crimean and the Moscovite. The latter was aided by circumstances. Or, in other words, while the young sovereign of Moscow was gradually growing up, and devoting all his energy to affairs of state, Safa-Girei of Kazane died and left his throne to an infant son. Matters were accordingly terminated thus. The inhabitants of Kazane sent their little Khan to Moscow, and took Shig-Ali as their Prince. But as Shig-Ali was protected by Moscow, he soon became hated in Kazane. He was, besides, exceedingly cruel, according to Ilovaiski (p. 119). This hatred, and the impossibility of struggling with Ioann, urged the inhabitants of Kazane to submit entirely to him, on condition that he would rid them of Shig-Ali. Ioann agreed to these conditions. He removed Shig-Ali, and sent to Kazane a Moscovite viceroy in the person of Prince Mikoolinski. Tranquillity then appeared to be restored. The inhabitants of Kazane quietly began to swear allegiance to Ioann, when suddenly three distinguished individuals raised the report that the Russians were coming to put every one to death. The people thereupon were in a commotion. They would not allow Mikoolinski to enter the town. They next sent to the Nogai Tartars to ask a prince from them, and the latter sent Ediger-Magmet.

Then Ioann resolved to subdue Kazane entirely. At the head of his troops he set out on an expedition. But while yet on the way, he heard that the Crimean Khan, with large forces, was marching towards the Moscovite frontiers. Ioann thus resolved to cross the Oka, and to meet the Khan. News, however, came that the Crimean Tartars could not take Toola. There they were defeated and fled backwards to the Steppes. Saved, in this wise, from invaders, Ioann continued his way, and on August 23 besieged Kazane. The forces of the Tartars amounted to 150,000 men and 50 cannons. Moreover, although the besieged were only defended by a wooden wall, they fought with the courage of despair. Accordingly, Kazane was not taken till the 2nd of October 1552, after frightful slaughter. 1552, 2nd
Ioann returned in triumph to Moscow as conqueror of a Tartar empire. This October—
exploit, accomplished with much effort and difficulty, greatly elevated Ioann in Conquest of
the eyes of contemporaries and of posterity; for that was his first conquest. And Kazane.
what was still more important, it was the conquest of a Tartar empire. After long years of suffering and humiliation, there at last appeared a Russian prince who restored to his native country the glory of his victorious ancestors. The

impression the event produced was heightened by the fact that the final conquest of Kazane was an achievement considered at once necessary and sacred in the estimation of every Russian. It ensured the defence of Christians from Mohammedan oppression, the preservation of Russian districts from constant inroads of barbarians, the liberation of Christian prisoners. Besides, the taking of Kazane had great commercial importance. For, in consequence, the whole current of the Volga was opened to Russia. Its merchants could henceforth establish themselves in the south-east, in unpopulated but rich, productive regions, watered by the Volga and its tributaries.

When Ioann returned to Moscow after his famous victory, the enthusiasm of the people knew no bounds. He then also heard that the Czarine Anastasia had given birth to a son, named Dmitri. According to Karamzine, 'At that auspicious moment the youthful monarch tasted the greatest happiness granted to mortals!'

Among the heroes present at the taking of Kazane, we remark the name of Ioann's cousin, Prince Vladimir Andréévitch; also those of the Princes André Michaelovitch Koorbski, Mstislavski, Voroteenski, Obalenski, Serebriani, Shere-metev, Gorbati-Shooiski, together with the noblemen Daniel Romanovitch, Morozev, Paletzki, Tschopetev, Troikoorov, Boolgakov, and many others.

In commemoration of the taking of Kazane, Ioann founded in Moscow the famous Cathedral of Pokrovski Sobor, better known as the 'Vasili Blajenni (*i.e.* of Basil the Blessed, whose relics repose there). The 'Pokrov,' or Intercession of the Virgin, is celebrated by the Russo-Greek Church on October 1. On October 2, as we have already said, Kazane fell. The Cathedral of 'Vasili Blajenni' strikes all beholders by its curious architecture, in which are blended many different colours.

According to popular tradition, Ioann ordered the architect to be deprived of sight, in order that he might never again erect a building so remarkable. This report, however, is purely traditional, and is confirmed by no Russian historians.

Prince André Koorbski, one of the heroes present at the taking of Kazane, has left a description of that memorable event. The following extract from his notes is quoted by Ilovaiski (p. 120):—

'Immediately before sunrise, a large excavation, in which were forty-eight barrels of gunpowder, exploded. Part of the town wall was then blown up. The Tartars met the Russians by firing arquebuses and a shower of arrows. Boiling water was also poured on the besiegers, and planks of wood were thrown on them. Meanwhile the Russians climbed up the wall and burst into the town. But there many of them, allured by covetousness, began to plunder houses and

shops. On seeing this, the citizens doubled their energy, and repelled the invaders from the city. The plunderers fled, shouting, "We are killed! we are killed!" But the bravest of the forces remained firmly on the spot. During this interval experienced warriors surrounded Ioann, led his horse by the bridle, placed the sovereign near the gate of the city, and raised over him a large banner. Then half of the imperial forces received orders to dismount and to aid those who were already fighting. The conquered inhabitants retreated towards the palace, and for some time still continued a desperate struggle. At length they brought out their Prince, Ediger, and said to the Russians: "While our empire stood we fought till death for the Czar and our native country. Now we deliver up to you our Khan alive, and ourselves we will go to a wide field and there drink the last cup with you!"

'Whereupon they descended the walls, crossed the rivulet Kazanka by a ferry, and through a field reached a neighbouring wood. Five thousand, and the very bravest, still remained. There they nearly all perished after a heroic resistance.

'On October 3rd Kazane was cleared of dead bodies. The day following Ioann solemnly entered the city, accompanied by the clergy, boyards, and troops. A procession, holding aloft crosses, went round the town. Priests sprinkled the streets and walls with holy water. Ioann then selected spots for Christian churches, and himself founded the Cathedral of the Annunciation. During the following year Goorius, abbot of the Setijarov monastery, was nominated as the first archbishop of the diocese of Kazane.'

From this epoch the sovereigns of Russia, among other titles, adopt that of 'Czar, or Khan, of Kazane.'

For some years afterwards Russia had, notwithstanding, still to maintain a struggle with different races in the districts of Kazane—such as the Tscheremeesi, the Mordvi, the Voliaks, the Tschoovash, and the Bashkirs, upheld by the Nogai Tartars.

CHAPTER VI

DANGEROUS ILLNESS OF IOANN—ITS CONSEQUENCES, 1552-1553

WE have but recently seen how Ioann in triumph entered his ancient capital amid the shouts of an enthusiastic people, and with the glad tidings that a son and heir to the throne had been born. The scene is now changed, and we once more behold the young monarch in far different circumstances—he is prostrated by illness and grief.

A fatal epidemic had broken out in Russia, and numbers had been carried off, particularly in the districts of Pskov. As if to heighten the calamity, revolts among the Kazane Tartars and different tribes along the Volga had taken place. Amid general depression, produced by these untoward events, Ioann himself fell ill. All were in doubt and terror. In the event of the sovereign's decease, many nobles flattered themselves that they would guide the helm of government, and disputed near the sick-bed concerning the fate of the state. Meanwhile, Ioann made his testament. He demanded that his cousin, Prince Vladimir Andréévitch (son of André Ioannovitch of Staritza, government of Tver), and the boyards, should swear allegiance to the infant Czarevitch Dmitri. But Vladimir Andréévitch refused to take the oath. He maintained his own right to the throne, in the event of Ioann's death, and tried to form a party for himself. Then, when some nobles, true to Ioann and his family, opposed Vladimir, Sylvester took the part of the latter prince. Nay, more, Alexis Adashev's father, Feodor, distinctly stated that he did not wish to serve the Romanovs, relatives of the Czarine, who would govern the state during Dmitri's minority. The sick man in his bed-chamber heard how the boyards in an adjacent apartment shouted: 'We do not wish to serve a little child! For then the Romanovs will reign over us!'

Indeed, the opposite party only yielded after the urgent entreaties of Ioann and the nobles still faithful to him. Meanwhile, Ioann recovered. Certainly, it is comprehensible that he could no longer view Sylvester and Adashev as formerly. Anastasia, too, felt herself deeply injured. And although for some time Ioann still continued to show esteem for his previous advisers, notwithstanding, coldness between him and them gradually increased. Enmity also appeared between them and Anastasia and her relatives the Romanovs. This subject we shall again notice in a subsequent chapter.

In fact, if immediately after Ioann's recovery from his illness he manifested no signs of discontent with those around him, he naturally viewed them with suspicion. In a word, his disposition was completely changed. Formerly he had been affable, frank, and gracious; henceforth he became distrustful, gloomy, and stern.

Ilovaiski narrates (p. 127) that after Ioann's recovery he desired to keep a vow by going on pilgrimage to the Kirillo-Bielozerski monastery, accompanied by the Czarine Anastasia and their infant son Dmitri. Previously, however, Ioann visited the Trinity cloister (near Moscow). 'There,' says Prince André Michaelovitch Koorbski, in his biography of Ioann, 'the sovereign conversed with Maximus the Greek. The latter tried to dissuade Ioann from undertaking so long and difficult a journey, and urged him rather to provide for the widows and orphans of

those who had fallen at the siege of Kazane. But Ioann heeded not this advice. He went by water to Kirillov (government of Novgorod). The expedition, however, did indeed prove unfavourable. Ioann lost his son. The infant prince died during the journey.

While on the way to one monastery, Ioann met with Vassian (formerly bishop of Kolomnax, near Moscow), and asked him how to govern so that the nobles would remain submissive. 'If thou wouldst reign as an autocrat,' returned Vassian, 'have no advisers wiser than thyself!'—a hint concerning Sylvester and Adashev.

CHAPTER VII

CONQUEST OF ASTRACHAN, 1556—INTERCOURSE WITH ENGLAND, 1553—INTERCOURSE WITH THE PEOPLE OF THE CAUCASUS AND WITH THE CRIMEA

IN districts of the Kazane Empire, on both sides of the Volga, on the western (hilly) and the eastern (level plains), there dwelt various savage races, such as the Tschereemeesi, the Mordvi, the Tschoovash, the Votiaki, and the Bashkiri. After the fall of Kazane, these tribes in no wise wished to submit to the Moscovite government. They were only subdued five years later, after a devastating war. In that war the Nogai Tartars were also against Moscow. They were instigated to be so by the Turkish Sultan, who could not with indifference see Mohammedan possessions pass to Christians, and accordingly urged all Mohammedans nearer Moscow to make constant war on Ioann. But, fortunately for Moscow, these Tartar races were continually at enmity with each other. The Nogai princes had endless quarrels; so that if one was against Ioann, another was on his side. For example, while a Nogai prince, Ioosoof, was the enemy of Moscow, a second, Ismail, was its ally. In 1553 Ismail implored Ioann to defend him against the Astrachan Khan, Yangoortschëi, and in his stead to place on the throne of Astrachan Prince Derbeesh, who had previously been deposed, and who was then living in Russia.

In consequence of this demand, during the spring of 1554 thirty thousand Russians, under command of Prince Youree of Prousk (government of Riazane), sailed by the Volga to Astrachan. Without much trouble they took possession of the town. Yangoortschei then fled, and in his place the Russians placed Derbeesh on the throne. The new Khan promised to be the faithful ally of Moscow, and to pay it tribute. But he did not long keep his word. He formed alliance with the Crimea and with the Nogai Tartars, the enemies of Russia.

1554—Expedition against Astrachan.

1556—Astrachan finally annexed to Russia.

Russia. Thus, in 1556, Derbeesh was dethroned, and Astrachan finally annexed to Russia. In this wise the Russians obtained firm footing at the mouth of the Volga. From the Astrachan Kreml (fortress) Moscovite voevodes easily observed the movements of the Nogai Tartars, who merely asked permission to rove about in that neighbourhood, to catch fish in the Volga, and to trade unhindered. The constant civil discord among the Nogai Tartars was the best guarantee for the safety of Russian dominion in Astrachan.¹

INTERCOURSE WITH ENGLAND, 1553

At this brilliant epoch of Ioann's reign commercial intercourse with England also commenced. 'Russia's trade with England,' says Ilovaiski (p. 124), 'began accidentally. Three vessels, fitted out by the English government, sailed towards the north-east, intending to find a passage by the Frozen Ocean to India and China. But a storm shattered the vessels. Two of them were frozen at the Moorman shores, along with the whole crew and its commander, Willoughby. Lapland fishermen found him sitting dead in his tent, and with his journal before him. Meanwhile, a third vessel, commanded by Captain Chancellor, sailed to the White Sea, and reached the mouth of the Northern Dvina. There, at that epoch, stood a monastery dedicated to Saint Nicholas, and on the same spot was afterwards founded the town of Archangel. The voevode of Holmogor informed Ioann of the Englishmen's arrival (1553). Ioann received Chancellor in Moscow, showed him the most flattering attention, and dismissed him with honour after expressing a wish to carry on trade with his countrymen. In England a company of merchants was immediately formed in order to send goods to Russia; and Ioann granted the English liberty to trade freely in his dominions without paying duty. At this epoch friendly intercourse was also established between the courts of Moscow and England.' In a subsequent chapter we shall again revert to this subject.

INTERCOURSE WITH THE PEOPLE OF THE CAUCASUS AND WITH THE CRIMEA

The establishment of Russian power at the mouth of the Volga opened up to the Moscovite government a whole world of petty principalities at the Caucasus. Their princes were perpetually at war with each other. They, besides, suffered not a little from the Crimean Tartars. Thus the Caucasian races, on finding themselves near a powerful state, besought its protection and permission for free trade with Astrachan. Some themselves even proposed to become subjects of Russia.

¹ Shemiakine, Viazemski, and Veshniakov were the Russian commanders who aided in finally subduing Astrachan.

In this wise was the latter country allowed to extend its dominions towards the south-east, to the Caucasus and beyond it. Meanwhile, the Crimean Khan was unable to hinder the progress of Russia in these regions. He consequently was much incensed, and invaded Russian possessions. To prevent similar incursions, Ioann sent detachments of light troops along the Don and the Dnieper in order to devastate regions belonging to the Crimea. Prince Dmitri Vishnivetzki, commander of the Little Russian Cossacks, quitted the service of Lithuania for that of Moscow, and thus also acted against the Crimea.

CHAPTER VIII

WAR WITH SWEDEN AND WITH LIVONIA, 1554-1559

BUT war with the Crimea did not occupy all Ioann's attention. It was rather turned towards the west. War with Sweden began in 1554, on account of a dispute concerning boundaries. That war was, however, remarkable for no particular events. The Swedish king—the famous Gustavus Vasa—had at first counted on the aid of Poland and Livonia. But as that aid did not appear, the aged monarch was obliged to make peace with Moscow. Ioann allowed Swedish merchants to pass through Russia on their way to India and China, on condition that Russian merchants might pass by Sweden to Lübeck, Antwerp, Spain, England, and France.

Thus did Ioann endeavour to promote trade between Russia and Western Europe. Notwithstanding, it was difficult to do so, because it greatly depended on the good-will of neighbouring maritime countries; and Russia, as yet, had no ports at the Baltic Sea. This was all the more keenly felt from the fact that great need of instruction was prevalent in Russia. Western nations had meanwhile much advanced in arts and sciences. But persons likely to benefit Ioann's subjects were hindered from passing to Russia by the jealousy of neighbouring states. They dreaded the growing power of Russia, and feared that it might become still more formidable if enlightened by instruction. No other adjacent power felt this more than Russia's weakest neighbour, Livonia. The Livonians, more than the inhabitants of any other country, tried to prevent science from penetrating to Moscow. But this only urged Russia to obtain possession of the Baltic shores, and in this wise hastened the fall of Livonia itself. Already in 1547 Ioann had sent a Saxon, named Schlitte, to Germany with a commission to find as many experienced tradesmen as possible. Schlitte collected more than a hundred individuals, some of whom had even received scientific education, such

as medical men, apothecaries, etc. Among the tradesmen then assembled were barbers, masons, casters of metals, carpenters, watchmakers, locksmiths, miners, cooks, carriage-makers, printers, tailors, etc. Architects and interpreters were also ranked amongst those who had received superior education. Schlitte had already brought them to Lübeck; but when they there wished to embark in a vessel, the Livonian government represented to the Emperor Charles v. the danger which Livonia and other neighbouring countries might thus incur. Charles accordingly gave the Master of the Livonian Order full power to prevent even one man of science, or one artisan, from reaching Moscow. Schlitte was thereupon cast into prison, and his companions dispersed (1547).—Ilovaiski, p. 124-5.

Ioann was then occupied with affairs in the east. He therefore could not immediately avenge himself on Livonia for its ill-will. But when, in 1554, Livonian ambassadors arrived in Moscow with proposals to prolong the truce between the two countries, Ioann intimated that the Livonians should previously pay him tribute for the regions of Dorpat, according to ancient conventions with the Grand Princes of Russia.

The bishop of Dorpat promised to pay the arrears, but did not do so. Accordingly, in 1558, Russian forces entered Livonia, and there caused frightful devastation. Narva, Neuhaus, Dorpat, and twenty other less considerable towns were all taken. In these circumstances the aged Firstenberg resigned the dignity of Grand Master of the Livonian Order. The position was then assigned to the brave young knight, Gothard Ketler. Notwithstanding, he was unable to struggle against Moscow alone; so he begged the help of neighbouring states. Sweden and Denmark gave no substantial aid, although they fruitlessly interceded with Ioann to spare Livonia. Poland, however, acted differently. At that epoch the Polish throne was occupied by Sigismund II. (Augustus, son of Sigismund I.). A treaty was concluded between Poland and Livonia, in virtue of which the king obliged himself to defend the possessions of the Order against Moscow. Thus war between the latter state and Livonia was complicated with hostilities against Poland.

The Swedish commander, Bagge, besieged Orieshek, or Pottenburg (Schlusselburg), and the Russians invaded Finland. They defeated the Swedes at Viborg, ruined Neuschloss, and took many prisoners. At length Gustavus proposed peace. A truce for forty years was thereupon concluded.

CHAPTER IX

RUPTURE OF IOANN WITH SYLVESTER AND ADASHEV—DEATH OF THE CZARINE ANASTASIA ROMANOVNA, 1560

BUT while this famous struggle with Livonia was going on—a struggle whose results were to decide the important question of Russia's direct intercourse with Western Europe—a great change had taken place at the Moscovite court.

We have already seen that Ioann enjoyed tranquillity of mind when he took the reins of government into his own hands; and especially when he found in Sylvester and Adashev advisers whose moral worth and fidelity were worthy of his entire confidence. Not content with possessing moral influence over the sovereign, Sylvester endeavoured to give advice concerning politics also. Thus, after a time, unpleasant collisions took place between him and Ioann. For example, Sylvester, and those who shared his opinions, demanded that Ioann, after conquering Kazane and Astrachan, should forthwith proceed to subdue a third Tartar state—namely, the Crimea. But Ioann well understood all the difficulty of that undertaking. He saw how impossible it was to conquer a distant country separated from Moscow by boundless steppes. Not only so: war with the Crimea would lead to hostilities with Turkey—at that epoch dreaded by all Europe. Ioann, besides, felt that if Russia desired no longer to fear the east, it was, meanwhile, first necessary to obtain instruction from the west. He accordingly made every effort to acquire possessions near the Baltic Sea. During this interval Sylvester was grieved that his advice was unheeded. He, besides, loudly declared that all the troubles Ioann subsequently experienced were chastisements of Heaven for his obstinacy in continuing the war against Livonia in spite of his best advisers. We can thus understand how difficult it became for Ioann to retain near his person an individual like Sylvester. The latter, besides, formed an intimacy with all the nobles disagreeable to Ioann from their behaviour towards him during his childhood, and also from subsequent differences with them. In fact, Sylvester took the part of the boyards against Ioann. Finally, both Sylvester and Adashev, while they felt rivalry towards the Romanovs—brothers of the Czarine Anastasia—extended their inimical feelings towards the princess also. By thus disturbing Ioann's domestic peace, he, of course, was deeply offended. But even these unfortunate collisions would not alone have produced total estrangement between Ioann and his former friends, if it had not been that he was oppressed by feeling they were no longer faithful

to him. We have already mentioned that during Ioann's severe illness both Sylvester and Adashev joined the party against the Czarevitch Dmitri. So at length (1559) Sylvester and Adashev were removed from court. Adashev was sent as voevode to one of the Livonian towns, where he died; and Sylvester was placed first in the Kirillo-Bielozersk monastery (government of Novgorod), and then in the cloister of Solovetzk (government of Archangel).

Death of the
Czarine
Anastasia
Romanovna,
1560.

On August 7, 1560, the good and wise Czarine Anastasia Romanovna passed away. She was recovering from an illness, but was terrified by a fire which had broken out in Moscow. Russian authors have exhausted all the commendatory adjectives of their own language in describing this princess. Certain it is that her untimely death produced the saddest effects. It occasioned a total change in the mind of Ioann, and therefore brought about the sufferings of his unhappy subjects. Ioann, formerly mild, wise, pious, brave, unwearied in labour, merciful to his people and 'terrible' only to his enemies, fell a prey to temptation, and gave himself up to vice. He became silent, stern, cruel; and after promoting the good of his subjects, eventually exposed many of them to the greatest suffering. History can only explain so extraordinary a transformation as the result of surrounding circumstances.

Karamzine narrates how great Ioann's grief was at the funeral of his much-beloved consort Anastasia. He could not then walk upright, but was supported on either side.

Ioann subsequently felt totally alone. His life was desolate. He had lost his best moral support. He was no longer surrounded by those he loved and esteemed, and who could raise and maintain him at their level. He was thus caught in the net of flatterers. They advised him to drown his sorrow in noisy, boisterous revels. It therefore came to pass that evil passions innate in Ioann's disposition, fostered, too, by the bad education of his early years, though lulled for a time yet not eradicated, again awoke, raged fiercely, and degraded him to the last degree. His boisterous boon-companions now advised him to forget his deceased consort and to seek another. Karamzine states that this occurred two weeks after Anastasia's death! Ioann listened to the advice, and soon contracted a second union with a Circassian, daughter of a prince named Temgriook. She was baptized by the Christian name of Mary. This fierce, half-savage woman had a malicious disposition, and never gained her husband's confidence.

The downward course is easy to some ardent natures uncontrolled by principle. It is mournful to trace the deterioration of Ioann at this epoch. We, in fact, can no longer recognise him as the energetic young monarch whose first years of wise administration promised so much future good to his country. Karamzine indeed

remarks that had Ioann's reign continued as it began, he would have been one of the most distinguished sovereigns who ever lived.

Doubtless, one great addition to other causes of Ioann's mental depression at this unhappy time was a remembrance of the sad circumstances accompanying his early youth. Then, too, the ambition of many nobles, manifested by their conversation during his illness, predisposed him to distrust and suspicion. His court, which during thirteen years had been rendered brilliant by the wisdom and virtue of his best subjects, gradually deteriorated also. It, in fact, simply became a meeting-place for slanderers, false witnesses, jesters, and buffoons.

'Either in good or in evil, sovereigns always find zealous imitators,' says Karamzine.

Terrified by Ioann's cruelty, many of his bravest subjects fled from Russia. The friends of Sylvester and Adashev could not silently view this sad change in all around, and particularly in Ioann himself. They endeavoured to obtain the recall of his former advisers, but this was of no avail. Some who thus interceded were exiled. Many were put to death. Others were forced to make a written promise that they would flee to foreign countries.

CHAPTER X

DEPARTURE OF PRINCE ANDRÉ MICHAELOVITCH KOORBSKI AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

AT this epoch the nobles in Moscow could not easily go away. But it was easier for those to do so who were near the boundaries of Livonia. This circumstance was made use of by one celebrated voevode. We allude to Prince André Michaelovitch Koorbski, a hero of the siege of Kazane. He went to Lithuania, to King Sigismund Augustus, who received the fugitive with honour. Koorbski had been a zealous partisan of Sylvester and Adashev, yet at the same time enjoyed Ioann's particular favour. But when Sylvester and Adashev were removed from court, when their relatives and friends were disgraced and executed, Koorbski became alarmed for his own safety, and resolved to leave Russia.

André Michaelovitch Koorbski belonged to the best-educated and most extensively read men of his time. He was unwilling to quit his native country in silence, or without giving an explanation of his proceedings to Ioann. Koorbski accordingly wrote his sovereign an epistle full of reproaches.

According to Ilovaiski (p. 128), 'Koorbski sent his first missive to Ioann by a faithful servant, Vasili Shebānov. The latter presented the epistle to Ioann at the so-called Red or Beautiful Staircase of the Moscow Kreml. Ioann held an

iron-pointed staff in his hand, and, according to tradition, with the staff gave Shebanov a blow on the leg. Ioann, leaning on the said staff, listened while the letter was read aloud. Shebanov remained motionless, and afterwards, during the most hideous tortures, had still courage enough to justify his master.'

Ioann did not silently receive Koorbski's reproaches, and replied to his letter. Whereupon a very curious correspondence took place between the antagonists. From this correspondence we learn how the boyards, and especially how princes, viewed the new order of things established by Moscovite sovereigns, *i.e.* the father and grandfather of Ioann. Koorbski, in his letters, takes up arms against these innovations. He insists that the sovereign, as in ancient times, should in everything consult with the boyards, who have a right to leave his service if displeased with it. Ioann, in this correspondence, shows both extensive reading and eloquence. He upholds the new order of things, shows its superiority to the administration of ancient times, insists on unlimited power of sovereigns.

Besides this memorable correspondence with Ioann, Koorbski, while in Lithuania, wrote an account of contemporary events, in order to justify his own views and to condemn those of Ioann. This composition is also very curious, and is as interesting to us as his (Koorbski's) correspondence with the Czar.

The departure of André Koorbski and a correspondence with Ioann cost the latter very dear. The partisans of the fallen Sylvester and Adashev did not unconditionally wish to submit to persecution. One of the most celebrated among them (*i.e.* Koorbski) had gone to an inimical sovereign, appeared as commander of his armies in war with Moscow, and, what was still worse, dared to send his former prince epistles full of reproaches and threats of revenge. Koorbski, in fact, was the representative of a whole party. Not for himself alone did he blame Ioann, but for many. Thus the question now arose: 'If the nobles could be prevented from quitting Moscow, in the interior of the state, how could they be restrained when near the frontiers? Who was to be trusted with the troops? As for those at a greater distance, if many were already so incensed, where was safety to be found?' The following thoughts accordingly occupied the mind of Ioann: 'My enemies are numerous and powerful. I am in danger! I must take measures to save myself and family; and, if these measures fail, I shall seek refuge abroad.'

CHAPTER XI

THE 'OPRITCHNINA,' OR LIFE-GUARDS OF IOANN IV., 1564

IOANN accordingly prepared for a struggle. But, first of all, it was necessary to prove the strength of his enemies. Would they be defended by the people? Or would the people deliver them up?

Thus, on December 3, 1564, Ioann, with his family and the treasury, removed to the Alexandrovski village near Moscow. A month later the documents were sent to that city. In one, Ioann complained of the nobles, of the clergy who took their part, and hindered the sovereign from punishing those who had committed evil deeds. Consequently he had removed from the state, and established himself elsewhere. The second document was addressed to merchants and to all the remaining inhabitants of Moscow. Ioann wrote that they had nothing to fear, as neither anger nor disgrace would follow them. When these documents were read, the people were in despair. 'How could they remain without a sovereign? Who would defend them from their enemies?' were the questions universally asked. Whereupon all the people went to the metropolitan. They implored him to urge Ioann's return. They promised not to uphold traitors, but to destroy them: only let the sovereign reign as he wished! Ioann then consented to resume administration, but with two conditions: first, that he would punish all traitors according to his own judgment; and secondly, that he would henceforth organise a so-called 'Opritchnina,' or, in other words, a new court formed of individuals entirely devoted to himself. For the maintenance of these satellites, or life-guardsmen, certain towns and districts were assigned. In Moscow, particular streets and suburbs were set apart for the 'Opritchniki,' or members of the life-guards. In fact, only those nominated to this post could live there, and previous inhabitants were obliged to remove elsewhere. Administration of the state was confided to a council of old boyards. This council was called the 'Zemski.' Only in military affairs, or those of great importance, the 'Zemski' presented documents to the sovereign. Thus the state was divided into two parts, the 'Opritchnina' and the 'Zemshine,' or states-general. Certainly, no friendly feeling could exist between these two divisions; for the 'Opritchnina' had been organised simply because Ioann suspected and distrusted members of the states-general. The 'Opritchnina' presented a whole crowd of time-pleasers, who took full advantage of their position and of Ioann's confidence in them, in order to oppress the states-general unpunished. But not only did the latter suffer

from these hateful life-guardsmen. They everywhere domineered over the people, affronted and plundered them.

CHAPTER XII

EPOCH OF EXECUTIONS, 1569

THE corrupt society, composed of slanderers and life-guardsmen, by whom Ioann then surrounded himself, and whose chief representatives were the fierce Malioota Skooratov, the Basmanovs (father and son), and Prince Viazemski, gradually changed the mercy and justice of a wise sovereign to the most extraordinary degree of odious cruelty.

Then began the fearful epoch of executions. Many nobles were put to death. Others were forced to swear that they would not quit their own country, on the guarantee of persons belonging to different classes of society. The enemies of Russia meanwhile endeavoured to profit by these untoward circumstances. Thus the most distinguished boyards received invitations from the King of Poland to pass to his service. This was discovered, and proved a pretext for new tortures and executions. At this epoch it was that Ioann received the surname of 'The Terrible,' although Karamzine declares that in ancient Russia this distinction was considered flattering rather than otherwise. Ioann's grandfather, John the Great, had likewise been surnamed 'The Terrible.' Indeed, the people considered goodness and indulgence as signs of weakness. This is even yet somewhat the case at the present day. 'If the thunder does not peal, the peasant does not make the sign of the cross,' says a Russian proverb.

As for Ioann IV., at this period rage and vengeance issued from his throne. The very highest nobles were not exempt from disgrace, imprisonment, torture, death. Henceforth, Ioann chiefly inhabited the fortified Alexandrovski village near Moscow; and during the remainder of his reign the execution of those he suspected was incessant.

The previous abbot of the Solovetzk cloister (government of Archangel), Philip, a boyarine of noble family named Koleetshev, according to Ioann's desire had been nominated to the metropolitan see of Moscow. Philip was an upright man. He was unwilling to renounce the sacred custom of interceding for the fallen, or of 'grieving over them,' as it was then expressed. Accordingly, with firmness of mind, he openly rebuked Ioann when they met in church, and blamed him for his degrading behaviour as well as for the murders committed by the 'Opritchniki.' The crime of every sort perpetrated by the latter had already

rendered them universally dreaded and execrated by the people. On one particular occasion Ioann received a grave rebuke. Dressed as a jester he rudely burst into church, accompanied by a number of his profane life-guardsmen, and demanded the metropolitan's blessing, which Philip refused to give. Moreover, the holy man's grave reprimand finally caused Ioann to reflect, and reflection was alarming to the 'Opritchniki.' Thus they, at all hazards, resolved to get quit of Philip.

Ilovaiski (p. 129) gives the following curious details of this sad epoch:—

'Ioann avoided interviews with the metropolitan Philip, because afraid of his intercession for the condemned. It notwithstanding frequently happened that Ioann and Philip did meet in church, where dialogues like the following took place:—

"Only be silent, I alone say to thee. Be silent, holy father!" exclaimed Ioann, scarcely able to conceal his vehement rage. "Be silent, and bless us."

"Our silence would bring sin on thy soul and cause death," replied Philip.

"Those nearest my person rose against me," continued Ioann, "and tried to do me evil. What hast thou to do with our sovereign decrees?"

"I am a pastor of Christ's flock."

"Philip! do not contradict our power so as to bring wrath upon thee; or, rather, leave the metropolitan see."

"I asked it not. I sought it not through others. I used no bribes to obtain the dignity. Wherefore didst thou deprive me of a desert retreat?" etc.

Philip was eventually deposed, and shut up as a captive in the Tverskoi Otrotch monastery. There he was finally strangled by Ioann's special favourite, the odious 'Opritchnik,' Malioota Skooratov (1569).

During the same year Ioann's cousin, Vladimir Andréévitch, also perished. He was suspected of wishing to join the party of the Polish king. Karamzine narrates how both Vladimir and his consort were forced to drink poison in Ioann's very presence. Vladimir left a daughter named Mary, also destined to an unhappy fate, as we shall subsequently see. Karamzine likewise mentions that an ancient Russian proverb, 'Near the Czar, near death,' probably originated at this dreadful period.

CHAPTER XIII

DEVASTATION OF GREAT NOVGOROD, 1570

IN a word, Ioann, once the hope and defender of Russia, finally degenerated into an object of terror to all his unfortunate subjects.

1570—Devas-
tation of Great
Novgorod.

In 1570 the whole of Great Novgorod fell a victim to Ioann's suspicion. The Novgorodians could not soon forget their former popular assembly, and probably complained openly of oppression from the severity of Moscovite government. At all events the Novgorodians were accused of wishing to submit to the Polish king. Ioann, accompanied by his faithful life-guardsmen, Strelitz, etc., appeared at Novgorod, and there during the course of six weeks continued his sanguinary chastisement.

See Ilovaiski (p. 130): 'Vengeance began in the districts of Tver. On reaching Novgorod, the imperial vanguard raised a strong barrier around the city, and shut up neighbouring monasteries. Abbots, monks, and priests were thereupon seized and exposed to restraint, *i.e.* they were daily beat with sticks in order to give up money. Merchants and those in office were shut up under guard. Ioann himself then arrived. He ordered the abbots and monks who had already been punished to be beat to death. Next he went to the Sophievski Cathedral. At the Volhonsk Bridge he was met by the Archbishop Pimine, who wished to sign him with the cross. But Ioann did not advance to receive the benediction, and called Pimine a traitor. After mass, Ioann went to dine with the archbishop, and there suddenly ordered him to be seized, while the treasury and all his house were plundered. Then began the execution of the Novgorodians under guard. First they suffered torture by fire, and afterwards they were thrown into the river Volkov along with their wives and children. Whole families thus perished. In order to prevent any from escaping, soldiers sailed around in boats and stabbed those who rose to the surface of the water. These horrible proceedings continued five weeks. At length, tired of slaughter, Ioann ordered one of the surviving citizens from each street to be brought to him. The citizens appeared, pale as death, and terrified that their last hour had come. But Ioann told them they had nothing to fear. He then urged them to thank God in prayers for imperial clemency, and declared that the blood shed was occasioned by the traitor Pimine and his associates. Ioann next went to Pskov. There each citizen, before his house, knelt down with his family, and held bread and salt, according to the ancient Russian custom of showing hospitality. That act of submission softened Ioann. He—as we learn from tradition—while in Pskov visited a fanatic named Nikolo Salos, and the latter, although in Lent, offered the sovereign a piece of raw flesh, to reproach him for his sanguinary proceedings. On returning to Moscow, investigation commenced concerning the Novgorodian treachery. Many Moscovite boyards were accused of participating in it, and were executed. Among those who perished at this epoch were Ioann's former favourites, the Basmanovs and Prince Viazemski.'

In 1571 a document was produced, in which it was stated that Prince Ivan Mstislavski and his companions had brought the Crimean Khan against Moscow. Mstislavski was, however, pardoned on the guarantee of two hundred and eighty-five individuals. But Ioann's suspicion of the Zemski boyards became greater and greater. At length he adopted a very strange measure. He ordered a baptized Tartar-Khan of Kaseemov (present government of Riazane), named Simeon Bekboolatovitch, to become the chief of the Zemski boyards, with the title of Grand Prince of all the Russians. Ioann then styled himself Sovereign Prince of Moscow. However, the reign of Simeon did not long continue.

As for Ioann at this epoch, he seemed to be under the impression that he and his children were not firmly established on the throne of their ancestors. This is proved from his testament written in 1572. In the said document, while addressing his sons Ivan and Feodor, he expressed himself to the effect that he is estranged from the boyards on account of their self-will, and consequently that he is obliged to rove about the country. Ioann furthermore persuades his sons in no wise to separate until the elder, Ivan, succeeded in subduing all sedition, and in firmly establishing himself on the throne. Ioann likewise begs his sons to say masses for the repose of his soul according to the rites of the Russo-Greek Church, even if the young princes were oppressed and in exile. This testament of Ioann is all the more remarkable because in it he entirely submits the younger son to the elder. The former, according to Ioann's expression, 'was to suffer to blood and to death, but in no wise to contradict his elder brother.' The younger, besides, was not to think of any independence in his district.

CHAPTER XIV

WAR WITH LIVONIA AND POLAND, 1561-1570

WHILE at this period important events were taking place in the interior of the Moscovite state, an eventful war was going on against Livonia in the west, complicated with hostilities against Poland also, as we have already seen. Alliance with Poland had been of no advantage to Gothardt Ketler, Grand Master of the Livonian Order. Russian forces still continued to devastate Livonia, to take towns, and to defeat the small German detachments which ventured to offer resistance. The possessions of the Order fell to ruin. The Bishop of Orsel sold that island to the Danish king, Frederick III., who gave it to his brother Magnus. The inhabitants of Revel submitted to Sweden. Finally, in 1561, Ketler ceded Livonia to Poland. For himself he reserved Courland and Semigalia

with the title of duke, and as a vassal of Poland. War between Moscow and Lithuania began as usual by devastating incursions. During the commencement of 1563, Ioann himself, at the head of large forces and artillery, moved towards the Lithuanian frontiers and took Polotzk, a town important in itself, and especially with regard to Livonia, by commercial intercourse along the Dvina to Riga. A great victory gained by the Lithuanians not far from Orsha, on the river Oola, at the village of Ivantzev, could not make amends to the king for the loss of Pototzk. So he was obliged to conclude a truce, and to cede to Ioann all the towns and the country occupied by Russian troops. In order to solve the important question, 'Would the king eventually make peace or not?' Ioann summoned a large council, such as had never been before. Hitherto Russian sovereigns had consulted with the nobles concerning affairs. If they were very important, a council, or 'Dooma,' was assembled along with the highest clergy. But in 1566 Ioann ordered the clergy, boyards, and proprietors along the western Lithuanian frontiers to meet together as individuals familiar with local circumstances. The members of this assembly were asked to give advice. Whereupon secretaries, and the more considerable merchants from Moscow and Smolensk, proposed conditions on which it would be well to make peace with the king. The assembly replied that all Livonia should be annexed to Moscow. So the war was prolonged. Only in 1570 a truce for three years was concluded. Meanwhile, Ioann saw how very difficult it was to conquer the maritime towns of Livonia. He accordingly endeavoured to find a German prince who would consent to reign there as vassal of Moscow. Whereupon Ioann proposed these conditions to the Danish prince, Magnus, the possessor of Oesel. Magnus consented, and in 1570 he came to Moscow. There he was declared bridegroom of Ioann's second cousin, Maria Vladimirovna, daughter of the unhappy Vladimir Andréévitch of Staritza, who had been put to death.

CHAPTER XV

WAR WITH THE CRIMEA AND WITH TURKEY, 1569-1572

ALTHOUGH Ioann turned his chief attention towards Livonia, he notwithstanding desired also to be tranquil concerning the Crimea. But the Crimea would not leave him in peace, all the more that the Turkish Sultan wished to take away Kazane and Astrachan from the Moscow government. The Polish king, too, bribed the Khan by presents to attack Moscovite Ukraine; and even the Tartars themselves felt that it was dangerous to allow Ioann's power to increase by

conquering Poland. The Crimean nobles in council thus addressed the Khan: 'If thou makest peace with the Moscovites, thou must deliver up the king. The Moscovites will soon overcome him. Then they will take Kiev. Next they will build towns all along the Dnieper, so that we shall no longer be able to live quietly. Ioann has taken two Mussulman states, Kazane and Astrachan. He has overcome the Germans. He gives thee presents to make thee fight against Poland; and, when it is conquered, we shall no longer exist. He gave the citizens of Kazane fur pelisses; but do not be glad of these presents. Afterwards he took Kazane itself.'

At length Sultan Selim resolved to execute a long-cherished intention of the Turkish government, or, in other words, to take away from Moscow the two Mohammedan states of Kazane and Astrachan. During the summer of 1569 Pasha Kasim began a campaign, accompanied by 17,000 Turks. He was joined by the Crimean Khan with 50,000 Tartars. It was proposed to go to Perevolok, *i.e.* to a spot where the Don is near the Volga, to unite these two streams by a canal, and finally to take Astrachan. After reaching Perevolok the Turks began to dig a canal, but they could not complete it; so they went to Astrachan, where Kasim hoped to winter. The troops, however, did not wish to do so, and were in a state of commotion, especially when they heard that a Moscovite voevode with a large army was at hand. Kasim accordingly fled backwards to the steppes, and thus excessively fatigued his forces. Ioann was in this wise saved from the Turks; but he was not saved from the Crimean Khan, who did not cease to demand Kazane and Astrachan. In 1571, at the head of 120,000 men, he suddenly attacked Moscovite Ukraine. Conducted by traitors, he next crossed the Oka, appeared at Moscow, and set fire to the city. Only the Kreml remained entire. Soloviev states (p. 119) that during that terrible conflagration 800,000 persons perished. Besides, the Tartars took 150,000 prisoners. Such inroads pleased the Khan. Thus, during the following year (1572), with a second army as numerous as the first, he again crossed the Oka. However, he was met by the Moscovite voevode, Prince Michael Ivanovitch Voroteenski, on the banks of the Lopasna. There several bloody encounters took place, all of which terminated unsuccessfully for the Khan. He was therefore obliged to flee backwards after losing a large number of his followers.

CHAPTER XVI

UNSUCCESSFUL WAR WITH BATORY AND THE SWEDES, 1575—IOANN IN A FIT OF PASSION KILLS HIS ELDEST SON, IVAN, TOWARDS THE CLOSE OF 1581

MEANWHILE important events were going on in western Russia. We have already seen that since the time of Yagello the Poles had constantly aimed at the definitive union of Lithuania and western Russia to Poland, but constantly encountered opposition to this plan from Lithuania. The Poles especially desired to annex to their country certain Russian regions particularly favoured by nature, such as Podolia, Volhynia, Little Russia, etc. Indeed, it was on account of them that disputes took place between the Poles and the Lithuanians. With Sigismund Augustus childless and without relations, the dynasty of the Yagellons terminated. Accordingly, the question of uniting Poland and Lithuania was again raised with renewed strength. Not only so: the discussion was affirmatively settled at the Diet of Lublin in 1569. At first the Lithuanians strongly opposed the measure, but at length they yielded on seeing that they were not supported by the Russians. To them the decision was indifferent, for the Lithuanian nobles did not act so as to gain the respect of Russia. Henceforth the government of the two inseparably united, Poland and Lithuania, was to be elective; so that when Sigismund Augustus died, the glance of many—especially of those professing the Russo-Greek faith in Lithuanian Russian regions—was turned towards Moscow.

When the death of Sigismund Augustus was intimated to Ioann, the Polish and Lithuanian nobles at the same time added that they desired to see his second son, the Czarevitch Feodor Ioannovitch, King of Poland and Grand Prince of Lithuania. But Ioann did not wish to give his son as king; in a word, Ioann wished to be king himself, and especially to be Grand Prince of Lithuania, without Poland. Meanwhile Ioann hesitated. He did not send his ambassadors to the Diet; he in no wise desired to cringe before the Lithuania and Polish nobles. During this interval the French ambassador spared neither flattery nor promises. He thus succeeded in forming a powerful party. It finally elected as king, Henri d'Anjou, brother of Charles IX. of France. But Henri did not reign long. When he heard of his brother's death, he secretly fled from Poland to France. The throne of the former country was again vacant, and a new election once more took place. On this occasion Ioann sent a document to the chief nobles, and promised to reward them if they elected

him; but they disapproved of this step, and finally chose Stephen Batory, voevode of Transylvania.

Meanwhile Ioann obstinately continued war in the Baltic regions. Thus a 1575. struggle with the Poles was accompanied with hostilities against Sweden; for Ioann wished to take Revel and other Esthonian towns. In 1577 the inhabitants of Revel repulsed the Russians from the city wall. But Ioann himself undertook a successful expedition to Livonia. Town after town surrendered to him on one side and to King Magnus on another. However, after Ioann's departure everything changed; the Poles and Swedes gained the ascendancy, and in 1578 completely defeated the Russians at Venden. There four imperial voevodes perished. King Magnus, already married to Ioann's second cousin, then surrendered to the Poles. The following year was to be decisive for Livonia. Ioann again prepared to undertake a new campaign. Artillery was already transported to Pskov, and destined to be used at the siege of Revel; but the artillery was finally to act in a different direction—enemies had appeared on Russian soil.

Stephen Batory, on ascending the throne, had promised to restore to Lithuania the districts taken from it by the Moscovite state, and he endeavoured to keep his promise. Besides personal merit, Batory had the advantage of being an experienced military commander. He, moreover, had at his disposal means capable of ensuring success; such, for example, as the fact of him having at his service a hired Hungarian and German infantry hardened in arms. His artillery, too, was excellent. Not only so; he gained much by his hasty movements. They gave him immense advantage over an enemy forced to extend its armies along the frontiers, ignorant of the spot at which an attack was to be made, and, finally, far behind the nations of the west in military science; for, till this period, in nearly all considerable battles on the open field the Russians had been defeated. Ioann meanwhile supposed that a war undertaken on account of Livonia would be carried on there. He accordingly transported large forces in that direction. But Batory, in 1579, besieged Polotzk, and took it after an obstinate resistance; he likewise took the fort of Sokol after frightful slaughter. In 1580 he took Velij, Oosviat, and Veleeki-Look. In another direction the Swedish commander, De la Gardie, entered Korelia, took Regsholm, and acted successfully against Russian possessions in Esthonia.

IOANN IN A FIT OF PASSION KILLS HIS ELDEST SON, IVAN, 1581

In 1581 Batory took the fort of Ostrov and besieged Pskov, before whose walls his success terminated.

1581—Ioann
kills his
eldest son,
Ivan.

It was at this epoch that Ioann filled the measure of his iniquities by the murder of his eldest son, Ivan, although the crime was unintentional and wholly unpremeditated.

The young Czarevitch Ivan desired to encourage the Russian armies by himself marching forwards to Pskov. He expressed this desire to his father; but the latter flew into a storm of passion, and exclaimed, 'Rebel! thou art in concert with the boyards, and seekest to dethrone me!' So saying, Ioann raised the iron-pointed staff which he always carried, and gave the young man a heavy blow behind the ear. He fell to the ground covered with blood. Then Ioann, terrified by what he had done, raised him in his arms and bathed him with tears. But the fatal deed was done; Ioann's blows were mortal. The Czarevitch lingered a few days and then expired. With his last breath he protested that he was faithfully devoted to his father.

Karamzine states that for some days Ioann sat in mute despair beside his son's remains, and refused all food. After the funeral he removed the insignia of royalty from his presence, and expressed his intention to abdicate; but as his grief for the loss of Anastasia was transient, so it proved on this occasion likewise. Very soon he was once more able to transact business as if nothing had happened.

Karamzine also adds that although we shrink in horror from this, the most odious of all Ioann's crimes, it notwithstanding saved Russia from a repetition of his own reign; for the young Prince Ivan was already quite depraved, and promised only to be a second edition of his father.

However, after describing the last moments of the unhappy Ivan, let us return to the siege of Pskov.

The most famous fort in the Moscovite state was the celebrated Pskov; for its inhabitants, during the course of centuries, had fortified the city. This was indispensable, as it was constantly exposed to the attacks of the Germans. At this epoch the ruined fortifications had been renewed. The garrison was provided with artillery, and the vovode was Prince Ivan Petrovitch Shooiski, an energetic man, capable of inspiring the troops with courage. Accordingly, all Batory's attacks were repulsed. But in another direction the Swedes were victorious. De la Gardie took Narva, where 8000 Russians perished. He also took the Russian towns, Ivan-Gorod (John's Town), Yam, and Koporié. Such was the state of affairs when there was question of making peace with Batory by mediation of the Pope's ambassador, a Jesuit named Anthony Possevin.

Ioann, threatened by a dangerous war with Poland, had sent an ambassador to Pope Gregory XIII. with a document full of complaints against Batory.

Ioann, moreover, expressed a desire to form alliance with the Pope and with the Emperor against other enemies. Gregory profited by the opportunity, and sent to Moscow a Jesuit, Anthony Possevin, who undertook Ioann's conversion to the Romish faith; but Possevin soon perceived that all attempts to convert Ioann were fruitless. Not only so; while conversing on secular affairs, the Jesuit clearly took Batory's part. These conferences terminated in January 1582, when a truce for ten years was concluded between the contending parties. Ioann meanwhile consented to cede all his conquests in Livonia to Batory, as well as Polotzk also. When Possevin came to Moscow in order to conclude the truce, he insisted on holding a discussion with Ioann concerning religion; but the discussion led to nothing. Ioann remained true to the faith of his fathers.

CHAPTER XVII

INTERCOURSE WITH ENGLAND, 1583

IN 1583 a truce of three years was concluded with the Swedes, in virtue of which they were to retain the Russian towns of Yam, Ivan-Gorod, and Koporié. Ioann had lost hope of obtaining any advantage in war with other European states until the Russians were more advanced in military art. Ioann, at the same time, did not abandon the idea of obtaining the shores of the Baltic; but he felt that in order to accomplish that important undertaking he must form alliance with some European state, which would supply Russia with the fruits of western science. These ideas are clearly evident in Ioann's intercourse at this epoch with Elizabeth of England.

In a previous chapter we have already mentioned that commerce had, so to speak, accidentally begun between England and Russia in 1553. Subsequently Ioann granted peculiar privileges to English merchants, and earnestly sought the friendship of Queen Elizabeth, at whose court he hoped to find refuge if expelled from Russia by the nobles. Karamzine states that Ioann even made a proposal of marriage to Queen Elizabeth. Doubtless he considered this as a polite attention. The letter (in Latin) which she wrote in reply to the proposal is still preserved in the historical archives of Moscow.

While declining the alliance for herself, the queen at the same time recommended to Ioann a relative, Lady Mary Hastings. Ioann thereupon sent an ambassador to London to see Lady Mary and to make conditions with her. Her portrait was likewise sent to Ioann. But the match was broken off, as the lady dreaded a long journey to a distant, unknown country, and, above

all, she was unwilling to change her religion. Karamzine quotes the details given by the ambassador in his description of Lady Mary's appearance. As she, unfortunately, not long before had had smallpox—that deadly foe of beauty—Elizabeth was unwilling that Lady Mary should see the ambassador till all traces of her malady had disappeared.

The coat-of-arms of England still figures over the large window of an old building in Moscow, the Printing-press of the Synod. Some affirm that the said crest was placed there out of compliment to the English, and at the epoch when there was question of a matrimonial alliance between Ioann and the royal family of England. Others maintain that the English ambassador occupied that dwelling, and that it therefore bore the crest of England.

1582.

In 1582 Ioann had held intercourse with Queen Elizabeth, in order to persuade her to join her forces to his against Poland. To further this plan he was even ready to grant English merchants exclusive right of trade in Russia, although, as he expressed himself, 'the tribute was heavy, but he would, notwithstanding, pay it, if thereby he obtained alliance with a European state against Poland and Sweden, which had deprived him of Livonia.' But England had no cause to commence war with Poland and Sweden simply to oblige Moscow; so the conferences between Ioann and Elizabeth remained without results.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE STROGONOVS AND ERMAK TIMOFÉEV, 1581-1584

IN this wise we see that, if Ioann carried on unsuccessful war in the west, where the nations were more skilled in military art than the Russians of that epoch, he was, notwithstanding, successful in the east.

Columbus, Pizarro, and Cortez conquered wide tracts in America for Spanish kings, because authorised to do so by government, and furnished with all necessary for such undertakings; but in Russia a crowd of bold Cossacks, commanded by their ataman (chief), without the sovereign's permission, nay, in a certain sense against his will, subdued boundless regions of Asia or Siberia.

That country—the cradle of the Hunns, the Mongols, and other warlike races, whose appearance terrified and devastated Europe—was, at the epoch of which we now write, populated by various tribes, chiefly of Finnish and Tartar origin. From the reign of Ioann III.—1462-1505—the western part of the country depended on Russia; but its sway in that direction was only feeble and without

hope of becoming more powerful. Not only so; Siberian Tartars frequently devastated Perm and other western parts of Russia. In order to lessen so great an evil, Ioann iv. had endeavoured to establish colonies between the northern Dvina and the Kama. The abundance of all necessary for material existence, and advantageous trade with Siberia, also attracted many to these distant regions. Besides, from the great extent of uninhabited country in Russia, several of its princes, from a remote period, had willingly ceded large tracts of land and granted great privileges to private individuals who undertook to promote the population of these desert wastes.

In 1558 the wealthy proprietors Yakov and Gregori Ivanovitchi Strogonovi 1558. petitioned Ioann iv. to grant them land along the river Kama to the extent of 146 versts. The Strogonovs at the same time undertook to build forts there in order to repulse the attacks of barbarous hordes, to encourage inhabitants to settle in that neighbourhood, to promote agriculture, to establish salt-boiling works, etc. All these conditions were fulfilled; for the Strogonovs, while overawing the inhabitants of Siberia by power, yet attracted them by affability, justice, and honesty. These upright men accordingly carried on flourishing trade, and exchanged the fruits of their industry for gold, silver, and expensive furs. These zealous, grateful sons of Russia, on seeing themselves surrounded by power and wealth, thought not merely of their own private interest, but desired the glory and advantage of their native country. They accordingly turned their attention to Siberia.

But as Kootschoom, Sultan of that country, was acting against the Moscovite state, the Strogonovs petitioned Ioann's permission to found forts on the river Tobol and on its tributaries, to hire sentinels, to place cannons at points of defence, to work iron, to till the ground in these regions, etc. Ioann granted the Strogonovs all these rights, along with full power to carry on not only a defensive, but an offensive war with the Siberian Sultan. However, in order to make war, forces were necessary, and they were found. The number of Cossacks in the Steppes of the Don had greatly increased. As they had advanced further and further in a boundless region, they had more and more thrown off allegiance to the Moscovite state. Not only so; these Cossacks, while attacking the enemies of Russia, such as the Nogai and the Crimean Tartars, attacked their own countrymen, the Russians, also. The Cossacks sailed along the Volga, plundered imperial vessels, put to death Persian and Bokharan ambassadors, killed Russian merchants likewise. Ioann was forced to send a voevode with large armies against these Cossacks. Some of them were caught and executed, others took flight and escaped.

At this epoch a singularly daring ataman of the Volga Cossacks was named Ermak (pronounce Yermak) Timoféev. At the head of a bold company of adventurers he carried on robbery on the Volga. Ioann declared Ermak an outlaw, and sent an army to track him. Ermak, however, managed to escape pursuit.

Meanwhile, the Strogonovs, *i.e.* Simeon, brother of Yakov and Gregory, with two nephews, Maximus and Nikita (Nicetas), began to see how at length they could accomplish their plans concerning Siberia. They knew very well that although Ermak was infamous as a robber chief, he, notwithstanding, possessed the qualities of a great commander. The Strogonovs accordingly proposed to him to abandon the lawless occupation of a bandit, and to join them in overcoming the enemies of Christianity, for the glory of Russia, of her Church, of her sovereign. Ermak accepted the proposal. On September 1, 1581, the Strogonovs sent a force against the Siberian Sultan. In addition to Cossacks the army was composed of inhabitants from the Strogonovs' own towns. Among their citizens were German and Lithuanian prisoners, as well as Tartars and Russians. The force included 850 men. Then a prayer was offered up. Ermak said farewell to the Strogonovs, and, like a chivalrous hero, made a vow to be brave, abstemious, pure in mind. Ermak continued his course chiefly by rivers. He set sail in boats along the river Tschoosova to the Ural Mountains; then he continued to sail on the Svebrennaia and the Tagil. Thus he reached the river Toora, the entrance of Siberia. Epantscha, ruler of that country, at the head of a powerful force, met the Russians; but as he had no firearms, he was put to flight at the very first thunder of the Cossacks' cannons. The most powerful of the Siberian Khans was Kootschoom. He was aided greatly by his nephew Mametkool. Both advanced against Ermak with a large army. A bloody encounter then ensued; the Cossacks triumphed. Finally, after overcoming great difficulty and danger, the brave Russians reached the Irtysh, defeated Kootschoom, and in triumph entered the capital, Isker or Seebeer. Kootschoom's courageous kinsman, Mametkool, strove to injure the Russians by sudden attacks, but he was at last overcome and made prisoner (1582).

Soon afterwards many neighbouring tribes submitted to Ermak, and that hero, as merciful as he was intrepid, treated them humanely. The Siberian Khans had hitherto received tribute from the adjacent Finnish races of the Vogooli and the Ostiaki; but a prince of the latter, along with many of his subjects and Tartars, came to Ermak; the Ostiak prince was named Boär. He and others brought provisions and gifts to Ermak, besought his defence

and protection, and swore fidelity to him. Excited by this success, Ermak, at 1582. the return of spring, decided on extending his conquests. He sailed northwards by the current of the Irtysh, subdued many Siberian races, reached the Obi and, after confirming the power of Russia from the Sosva to the Tobol, returned triumphant to Isker.

But Ermak, in spite of his brilliant victories and successful expeditions, was, notwithstanding, in a dangerous position. The number of his Cossacks had visibly diminished, and his supply of gunpowder, the secret of his success, was exhausted. On considering his position, he resolved to despatch one of his brave companions-in-arms, Ivan Koltzo, to Moscow. There Koltzo was commissioned to beg the sovereign's special permission to subdue the empire of Siberia, and also to implore the pardon of Ermak, hitherto outlawed, yet the actual conqueror of vast regions. Koltzo arrived in Moscow. He was presented to Ioann, offered him gifts, consisting of costly sable and black fox furs and beaver skins, besides dominion over Siberia. Ioann was greatly rejoiced at this event. He granted entire pardon and grace to the Siberian hero, and generously rewarded Koltzo, along with his companions. Ermak likewise received gifts in form of armour and a fur pelisse taken directly from Ioann's own shoulders. This, according to Karamzine, was considered the greatest possible honour in ancient Russia.

Ioann likewise sent to Siberia a voevode named Bolhooski, a functionary Gloohov, and five hundred Strelitz. Ermak was delighted with his sovereign's pardon, and resolved on further conquests. But, alas, fate finally began to betray him. Hunger and terrible scurvy, to which Bolhooski fell a victim, weakened and thinned the ranks of the brave Cossacks. Moorza (Prince) Karatscha allured Koltzo with forty warriors to come to him, and then put them to death. On learning this, all the tribes hitherto conquered by Ermak rose in arms against him and besieged Isker. Ermak marched forwards with the remains of his army, and the courage of despair rendered him once more victorious. The rebellious tribes were thus subdued, and Ermak, while pursuing Karatscha, established Russian sway over all the region from the banks of the Irtysh to the Issim.

Here terminates the success of the Siberian hero.

Having heard that on one occasion a caravan of Bokharan merchants on the way to Siberia was hindered from passing by Kootschoom, Ermak, with fifty brave followers, hastened to meet the caravan. However, he did not find it, and thereupon prepared to pass the night in tents, while he left his boats on the Irtysh, near the mouth of the Vagai. The night was dark and stormy;

5th August
1584—Death
of Ermak, the
conqueror of
Siberia.

rain fell in torrents; the Irtish, agitated by a strong wind, brawled along between its steep banks. The gloomy scenes of surrounding nature and overpowering fatigue caused Ermak and his companions to fall into a deep sleep. Suddenly, Kootschoom, with a large force, attacked the slumbering warriors and put them all to death. One of them alone succeeded in escaping to Isker; he was Ermak. Awakened by the noise and the groans of his dying followers, sword in hand he fought his way through a crowd of assailants. On reaching the Irtish, he threw himself into the river, hoping to swim to the opposite side; but overcome with fatigue and the weight of his armour, he could not reach his boat, and was drowned, 5th August 1584. Some days afterwards the Tartars found his body in the Irtish, near a village named Epantschinski Yourt (nomad tent), and a tomb, unknown to history, received the remains of the dead hero.

The news of Ermak's death caused terror among his followers. In dread, irresolution, and despair they slowly wended their way back to Russia. Thus it seemed that the fruits of all Ermak's labour and successful exploits were lost for ever. Notwithstanding, they did not disappear, for Russia knew how to profit by them. Finally, during the lapse of ages, it gradually extended its dominions from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific Ocean.

CHAPTER XIX

DEATH OF IOANN IV. (VASILIEVITCH), SURNAMED 'GROZNI,' OR 'THE TERRIBLE,'
18TH MARCH 1584

BUT while these stirring events were taking place in the far east, Ioann IV. had already been called to give in his account of deeds done in the body. He had attained his fifty-fourth year, and his naturally robust constitution seemed to indicate that his reign might yet be prolonged. The wild, dissipated life which he led, and the excess of every kind to which he gave full scope, had, notwithstanding, aged him prematurely. He often complained of a languor which seemed to undermine his strength. The failure he had experienced in recent war had also a pernicious influence upon him. All this enfeebled his frame and hastened his end.

Superstitious, as well as cruel, Ioann took wonderful interest in a comet which appeared in 1584, and which he deemed the prognostic of his decease. He ordered astrologers to come to Moscow, and every day his favourite, Bielski, was sent to hold communication with them. And they indeed foretold that Ioann's

end was at hand. Then he dictated his testament, in which he named his son 1584—Death of Ioann IV., 'The Terrible,' 18th March.
Feodor heir to the throne, and appointed councillors in the persons of Schouiski, Mstislavski Youriev, Boris Godoonov, and Bielski.

From Ioann's exhortations to his son and those appointed to aid him, it may at first be thought that an amelioration had taken place in the dying sovereign's mind. But that was only transitory. When he felt himself a little better, he ordered his attendants to transport him to an adjacent apartment, in which were kept his treasures and precious stones, so that he might still view them with delight. Karamzine also states that when Ioann's young daughter-in-law, Irene Feodorovna (born Godoonova), approached his death-bed, in order to offer him consolation, his vicious propensities, even then, caused her to recoil in horror. Karamzine also quotes most interesting remarks from the notes of an Englishman, Mr. Fletcher, then in Moscow, who conversed with Ioann only a few hours before his death.

Contrary to expectation, Ioann appeared to rally on the very day fixed by the astrologers as that of his decease. 'Go and tell these impostors that I feel my strength renewed!' exclaimed he, while he addressed his favourite, Bielski. 'Wait!' replied the astrologers; 'the day is not yet ended.' Whereupon Ioann raised himself, and was about to begin a game of chess with Bielski, but suddenly fell back and expired. Other authorities maintain that, in anticipation of death, Ioann had already taken the vows of a monk, and had adopted the name of Jonah. It is also said that for some time his attendants gazed in mute astonishment at his dead body. They could not yet realise the fact that he was no more.

Ioann IV. was, without exception, one of the greatest monsters whose names disgrace the page of history. He was a true tyrant, and therefore has been surnamed 'The Terrible,' although even that surname conveys but a faint impression of his atrocious deeds. Notwithstanding, his reign was long and brilliant, by the conquest of three empires—Kazane, Astrachan, Siberia. In fact, Ioann IV. laid the foundation of Russia's future power, and by several foreign writers he has been called 'The Great.' Thus is he estimated by Manstein. It is even affirmed that Peter I. took Ioann 'the Terrible' as a model, and followed in his footsteps.

According to Ilovaiski (p. 131), 'It is also a remarkable fact that the popular songs and narrations of the epoch manifest esteem for Ioann IV., and simply call him "Grozni," i.e. "the Terrible," a surname also given to his grandfather Ioann III., "the Great." But these same songs and narrations only show esteem for one boyarine of Ioann's court, namely, his brother-in-law Nikita Romanovitch.'

Regarding Ioann IV., Karamzine truly remarks: 'History remembers evil longer than the people.'

CHAPTER XX

FAMILY OF IOANN IV. (VASILIEVITCH), 'THE TERRIBLE'

'THE details concerning the seven marriages of Ioann IV. (Vasilievitch), "the Terrible," have not hitherto been in accordance with each other,' says Karamzine (vol. ix. p. 272-274, and note 494).

'I found the following list,' continues the above-mentioned author, 'which, if not contemporary, at all events dates from the commencement of the seventeenth century. This list is entitled "Elagine's Collection," as it formerly belonged to a gentleman of that name.

'The first consort of Ioann IV. was Anastasia Romanovna Zaharine Koshkine. Anastasia's children were Anna, Mary, Dmitri, who died in infancy; Ivan, killed by his father; and finally Feodor, who inherited the throne. Anna Ioannovna became abbess of the Novodevitchi monastery, and was buried there, although her tomb is not now identified.

'Ioann's second consort was a Circassian, baptized by the Christian name of Mary. She was daughter of Temgrivok, Prince of Piatigorsk, a town near the Caucasus. Mary (or Maria Temgrivokovna in Russ) had a son Vasili, who only lived five weeks.

'Ioann's third consort was Marfa Vasilievna Sobakina, daughter of a Novgorodian merchant. Her marriage took place October 28, 1571, and she survived only till the month of November of the same year. "She died spoiled by the evil eye," according to the superstitious belief of the times.

'These three consorts of Ioann are buried side by side in the Cathedral of the Ascension at the Kreml of Moscow. The tombs are still in perfect preservation.

'Ioann's fourth consort was Anna Alexéevna Koltovskaia, of obscure birth. Repudiated by her husband, and forced to enter a cloister of Tichvine (government of Novgorod), Anna lived till 1620.

'Ioann's fifth consort, or simply "wife," as the word is written in Russian annals, was Anna Vasiltschikova. But it is not known if he publicly acknowledged her as Czarine or not. This marriage took place about 1575.

'Ioann's sixth consort was a beautiful widow, named Vasilissa Melentieva. He, however, it is affirmed, merely heard a prayer, entitling him to become her husband, without the usual marriage ceremony in church.

'In 1580 Ioann married a seventh time. His choice then fell on Mary (or

Marfa) Feodorovna Nagaia, daughter of a court dignitary, Feodor Feodorovitch Nagi.

'In Moscow, on October 19, 1583, Mary had a son named Ooar Dmitri. This unhappy prince was assassinated at Ooglitch (government of Yaroslavl), May 15, 1591, by order or connivance of Boris Godoonov. In the monastic state Mary took the name of Marfa.

'The young Czarevitch Ivan (killed by his father) had been married three times, first to Evdokia (pronounce Yevdokeeia) Bogdanova Saboorova, Alexandra in the monastic state. She took the veil at Soozdal.

'The Czarevitch's second consort was Paraskéeva Michaelovna Solovaia, who became a nun at Bielo-ozero (government of Novgorod). Both these princesses died in 1620, and were buried in the Cathedral of the Ascension at the Kreml of Moscow.

'Prince Ivan's third consort was Elena Ivanovna Sheremeteva.' See Karamzine's *History of Russia* (vol. ix. p. 352, note 609).

'Youree Vasilievitch, the only and beloved brother of Ioann iv., was married (November 1547) to Julianna, daughter of Prince Dmitri Paletzki. The young princess was chosen for Youree by his reigning brother. A minute description of the wedding has been preserved, along with very curious and characteristic details.

'At the nuptial table, Ioann ordered Prince Youree to stand up and to come before him at the door of the hall, and the princess he led forward by the hand. Prince Youree stood at the threshold, and Ioann thus addressed him: "Brother Youree! By God's will and our own desire, thou art ordered to marry, and to take for thy wife Princess Julianna, and thou art to maintain thy wife as God hath ordained." Then taking him by the hand, gave him the princess. Afterwards, Prince Youree and his consort were established in the imperial palace. It is not superfluous to state that Prince Youree had only accomplished his seventeenth year when married.

'According to contemporary, very reliable testimony, Prince Youree "was but scantily endued in mind and energy," and perhaps it was on that very account that he constantly possessed the sympathy and confidence of his reigning brother. But although the young prince showed complete incapacity, alike in military and in state affairs, Ioann Vasilievitch, on a temporary absence from Moscow, used always to leave the capital under command of his brother, and surrounded him by the outward tokens of majesty and honour. When Prince Youree died towards the close of 1563, Ioann sincerely mourned over him, and was deeply distressed because unable to bury his brother with all due pomp, as the aged metropolitan Marcarius was then on his death-bed, and about to draw his last breath.

'Concerning Youree's consort, Princess Julianna, contemporaries with one voice affirm that, along with personal beauty, she possessed very high mental qualities. In that respect many compare her to Ioann's first consort, the virtuous, tender Anastasia. The position of Julianna at the court of Ioann, already married to his second wife, Mary, a Circassian princess, and then much altered in mind and inclination, was precarious and uncertain.

'Julianna accordingly decided to adopt the course followed at that time by all women left portionless by fate among the higher classes of ancient Russians. They, in fact, had no alternative but the cloister. Therefore it was that soon after her husband's death, Julianna announced her desire to take the veil, and to dwell in a monastic retreat. "To retire from the world to a calm, tranquil haven." None, in fact, sought to dissuade her from that intention, which fully agreed with contemporary views of widowhood, especially when childless. At the ceremony of taking the veil, Ioann himself, along with his consort, the Czarine Mary, accompanied by Prince Vladimir Andréévitch, many boyards and dignitaries, considered it as a duty to go with Julianna to the Novodevitché monastery, amid a crowd which filled the whole way. Ioann, indeed, desired to show his sister-in-law recluse all possible favour. He therefore ordered her monastic cell to be richly furnished, gave her an entire court suite, and assigned many estates, whose revenues were to furnish her simple wants. On accompanying his imperial sister-in-law to the cloister, certainly none for a moment anticipated that the day would come when Ioann Vasilievitch himself would prove the cruel, heartless murderer of Julianna (Alexandra as a recluse), only because she had expressed disapproval of the villainous murder of Prince Vladimir Andréévitch and his family.' See *The Neva*, number for January 8, 1894.

CHAPTER XXI

INTERIOR ADMINISTRATION OF IOANN IV.—REGULATIONS REGARDING ANCIENT FAMILY RIGHTS, OR A STRIFE FOR PRECEDENCE—MILITARY ORGANISATION—REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE RURAL POPULATION, AND THAT OF TOWNS.

IOANN'S protracted reign is not only distinguished by the strong peculiarities of his individuality, his intercourse with the nobles, his warlike expeditions both in the east and west, but is also remarkable by the interior administration of his own state. Ioann turned all his attention to one important subject which often occasioned government the greatest difficulty, especially during war. We allude to ancient family rights, or strife for precedence.

We have already seen that in Russia, for a lengthened period, the reigning princely dynasty preserved its integrity. This acceptance of hereditary rights likewise existed in private families. When one individual obtained a distinguished position in the service of state, he at the same time elevated all his own race, sometimes divided into numerous branches. So also, if one was lowered in his career, all his relations, along with himself, 'were exposed to dishonour,' according to the expression of the times. But the evil did not end there. Whenever an individual was nominated to a new position, his first care was to find out if he could undertake his duties without degradation to himself and his race. Could he be on equal footing with his young colleagues in service? Could he submit to those above him in office, without degradation to his family? Or had his own ancestors not occupied a higher position than some actually superior to himself in dignity? If he could not answer these questions satisfactorily, he would decline the nomination. For example, Prince Boris was appointed to be a younger colleague with Prince André. Meanwhile, Prince Boris discovered that in a certain military expedition of ancient date his grandfather had held a higher rank than the ancestors of Prince André. Consequently the race of Prince Boris had a more distinguished rank than that of Prince André. Thus to serve together on equal terms was impossible; for Prince Boris thereby risked the degradation of all his relatives, along with himself, by publicly acknowledging that he was on equality with the family of Prince André. The authority which decided similar questions, and furnished historical gossip of this kind, was the Nobiliary. In it were inscribed all the nominations in service—all concerning family rights of precedence, all the reasons which had occasioned such distinction. This Nobiliary was consulted both by the government and by private individuals in case of disputes for precedence. This strife which should be the greatest was visible everywhere. It was seen also among courtiers, at court ceremonies; and women, too, disputed on the same subject at the Czarine's table. A ridiculous anecdote is told of one prince, who actually crept below the imperial table, rather than acknowledge at a court ceremony that he was on equality with another nobleman then present. The prince was, however, dragged by force from beneath the table, and obliged to make the unpleasant acknowledgment.

But Ioann restricted the circumstances in which commanders of forces could dispute concerning precedence. Besides, those younger in service were henceforth prohibited from disputing with voevodes of less remarkable origin. Only those who themselves became voevodes had a right to dispute for precedence.

During Ioann's reign one very important change in military organisation was introduced. In other words, he laid the foundation of standing armies by

forming the militia of the Strelitz. In order to maintain the safety of southern Russian frontiers at the Steppes, stations were established and a guard formed. Detachments of armed men were obliged to stand at certain distances in the Steppes, and there to watch. One detachment relieved another. Some were also obliged to ride along the Steppes, to make observations, and to see that Tartars did not there appear.

Even while Ioann IV. was still a minor, and during the government of the boyards, important changes had taken place in the administration of towns and villages. Henceforth their inhabitants themselves received from government the right to catch, judge, and execute thieves and robbers. Accordingly these inhabitants were obliged to organise superior magistrates in the persons of so-called 'boyards' children' (*i.e.* militia of princes and nobles), along with starosts, desiateenski (commanders of ten), and the better classes of the people. Ioann received constant complaints of the oppression and injustice practised by viceroys and bailiffs in towns and villages. Thus he henceforth granted their inhabitants the right to elect their own administrators. They were subsequently named 'favourite starosts,' or bailiffs. The money which formerly had been given to viceroys was afterwards sent to the treasury. As far as bondmen were concerned, Ioann restricted the circumstances in which a free individual might lose his liberty and become a bondman.

CHAPTER XXII

AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH DURING IOANN'S REIGN—LITERATURE OF THE EPOCH—PRINTING

WE have already mentioned a Clerical Council, assembled by Ioann in 1551, to diminish disorder in the Church. One regulation then made was, that a hundred priests should elect for themselves a starost from among the better class of the people, and that he should assemble members of the council for consultation concerning clerical affairs. The council, furthermore, gave advice characteristic of the epoch, namely, 'that good, pious priests, able to read and write, should be chosen to fill their holy office.' For, according to Karamzine, at that remote period some of the clergy actually could not read, and therefore learned the church service by heart. Schools were also to be organised in the houses of the clergy. For the aged and weak, the said council likewise decided that in all towns almshouses should exist for men and women.

In 1551 another important question was discussed in the Clerical Council.

We allude to immovable property possessed by the clergy, churches, and monasteries. For the first time restrictions were put on such property. In other words, henceforth archbishops and monasteries could only purchase land with the sovereign's permission.

Another Clerical Council of 1573 further decreed that large monasteries, possessing much land, could no longer obtain it with peasants, and that only poor monasteries could obtain such property with the sovereign's permission. But in 1580 even that exception in favour of poor monasteries was suppressed.

Besides the decision of these questions, the Church, during Ioann's reign, maintained a struggle with heresies. First, there was the heresy of Matvei (Matthew) Bashkine, who did not acknowledge Jesus Christ as equal to God the Father. Then there was the heresy of Theodosius Kosa, who taught that Christ was but an ordinary man.

LITERATURE AND PRINTING

The reign of Ioann IV. is also distinguished for decided progress in literature. The struggle of this sovereign with the nobles did not merely consist in acts of violence, but was also maintained with the pen; for Ioann replied to Koorbski's reproachful epistles.

Karamzine mentions that one letter of Prince André Michaelovitch Koorbski to Ioann terminates thus—

'Sire! thou shalt see my face no more!'

To which 'the Terrible' sovereign Ioann rejoined—

'Thou sayest that I shall no more see thine Ethiopian countenance! Oh, woe is me! What a very great misfortune!'

Among contemporaries, Ioann IV. was famed as a man extensively read. He likewise possessed the capacities of speaking and of writing well, or 'eloquent wisdom,' according to the expression of the times. Besides his correspondence with Koorbski, there is still preserved Ioann's 'convictive epistle to the monastery of Kirillo-Biellozersk.' Koorbski, a pupil of Maximus the Greek, did not yield to Ioann in 'eloquent wisdom.' We have seen that Koorbski not merely had a correspondence with Ioann, but also wrote a description of the times, entitled *History of the Grand Prince of Moscow*.

When Koorbski was in Lithuania, he saw that the Russo-Greek faith was oppressed by powerful enemies, namely, Romanists and Protestants. He therefore strove to give Russians means to maintain their ground in the struggle with opponents. For this purpose he earnestly desired that his countrymen should possess the writings of early fathers of the Greek Church. He therefore himself

began to learn Latin, and to translate the works of St. John Chrysostom, Damascenus, etc., and also to write a *History of the Council of Florence*.

Zinovius Otenski, another pupil of Maximus the Greek, contested in the Moscovite state with the heresy of Theodosius Kosa, and wrote a refutation of it. Besides these polemical compositions of a religious and political character, other curious literary remembrances of Ioann's reign still exist. Among them is the *Domostroi*, or *Regulations for Domestic Life*, composed by the famous priest Sylvester. The *Domostroi* includes a collection of maxims, containing worldly wisdom, remarks on domestic family decorum, expostulations concerning duty to God, to spiritual pastors, to the sovereign, to our fellow-men.

At the suggestion and by the endeavours of the metropolitan Macarius, a large collection of biography of saints was made, known as *Macarius's Martyrology*.

In twelve large volumes were collected *Interpretations of the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles*, composed by fathers of the Greek Church. These writings were known by Slavonian translations, as were also lives of saints.

From Ioann's reign is likewise dated the composition of genealogical books, and expositions of events in the church and state in Russian history, in a religious point of view. The composition of annals also continued as before. Two sorts of annals of this epoch have reached our own times: one written by order of government, and under its inspection; another composed by private individuals.

To Ioann's reign also belongs the introduction of printing in the Moscovite state. The first printing-press in Moscow was established in 1563. Two workmen were thus employed. They were a deacon, named Ivan Feodorov, and Peter Timoféovitch Mstislavetz. In 1564 they finished the first book printed in Moscow, namely, *The Acts of the Apostles*. In 1565, after printing a Breviary, they were forced to flee to Lithuania because accused of heresy. But without their aid the printing of books was still carried on in the Moscovite state.

CHAPTER XXIII

REIGN OF FEODOR IOANNOVITCH, THE LAST REIGNING PRINCE OF THE
DYNASTY OF RURIK, 1584-1598

AT the death of Ioann IV. the state was in a similar position to that subsequent to the decease of his own father. For although Ioann's son Feodor was of age when he ascended the throne, he was, notwithstanding, still a child in capacity. Accordingly he was incapable of administrating affairs without guardians and a

regency. A wide field was thus opened up for a struggle to obtain power. Feodor was indeed a man of meek disposition and of very delicate health; in short, he was much more suited for monastic life than to occupy the throne. Karamzine mentions that Ioann IV. used to say that 'Feodor was only fit to be a ringer of church bells.'

Moreover, as this mental weakness of Feodor Ioannovitch continued during his whole life, and as he died without leaving a son, the struggle of the boyards to obtain the regency at this epoch assumed a new signification. For there was no longer mere question of precedence among a crowd of boyards' families; but doubt arose as to which dynasty would henceforth reign in Russia.

Among the princes of Lithuanian origin descended from Gedimin, the most honourable rank had been conferred on the Mstislavskies.

At the death of Ioann, Prince Ivan Feodorovitch Mstislavski occupied the first place among the boyards. But he and his son, Prince Feodor, were not especially remarkable for ability or energy. Among the princes of Rurik's race at this epoch, as formerly, the most conspicuous were the Shooiskies. Even the disgrace incurred by that family, when Ioann attained majority, did not abolish the power of that princely race; and its glory was greatly enhanced by Prince Ivan Vetrovitch Shooiski's gallant defence of Pskov against the army of Batory. In fact, the Shooiskies were particularly popular among the citizens of Moscow, the merchants, and the lower classes. But along with the princely races descended from Rurik and Gedimin there appeared two other boyards' families, nearly related to the reigning dynasty. We allude to the Romanovs and the Godoonovs. The boyarine Nikita Romanovitch Youriev was uncle of Feodor, by the mother's side, while the boyarine Boris Feodorovitch Godoonov was brother of the Czarine Irina, Feodor's consort. The Godoonovs were descended from a Tartar Moorza (prince) named Tscheta, who had established himself in Russia during the reign of Ioann Danilovitch Kaleeta (1328-1340).

On May 31, Feodor Ioannovitch was crowned. During the first months of his reign great influence was exercised by the boyarine Nikita Romanovitch. But he fell ill in August 1584, and in April 1586 he died. His place as regent was then filled by the boyarine Boris Feodorovitch Godoonov, brother of the Czarine Irina.

CHAPTER XXIV

ADMINISTRATION OF BORIS GODOONOV—HIS STRUGGLE WITH THE SHOOISKIES

BUT Godoonov's new dignity led to a struggle with those who considered themselves better entitled than he was to his exalted position. Consequently, two hostile parties were formed. At the head of one was Boris Godoonov. At the head of the other was the highest boyarine, Prince Ivan Mstislavski. He was supported by the Princes Shooiski, Voroteenski, and other nobles. Godoonov, however, overcame his opponents. Prince Mstislavski was forced to become a monk. Voroteenski and some of his party were sent to different towns. But the Shooiskies, while artfully acting by means of others, themselves remained uninjured. Godoonov and his partisans were highly incensed against the Shooiskies. They, notwithstanding, firmly maintained their footing, and yielded in nothing to the regent. On their side were the merchants and the lower classes of the Moscovite people. Meanwhile, the metropolitan Dionysius strove to become a mediator between the contending parties. He invited both Godoonov and Shooiski to come to him, and urged them to make peace. They listened to his exhortations. But at the very time while the boyards were with the metropolitan in the palace, a crowd of merchants assembled. Prince Ivan Petrovitch Shooiski thereupon approached the merchants and told them that Godoonov and he had become reconciled. Two merchants then advanced from among the crowd, and thus exclaimed: 'You have made peace at the price of our heads! Boris will cause your fall, and he will ruin us also!' That very night those two merchants were arrested and exiled, none knew where.

This act of violence, perpetrated by Godoonov, renewed the enmity between him and the Shooiskies. The latter, in fact, only thought of means whereby to eradicate Godoonov's power. They next persuaded Feodor to be divorced from his childless consort Irina, and to form another matrimonial alliance. Prince Ivan Petrovitch Shooiski, the other boyards, and the merchants of Moscow agreed to this proposal, and signed a petition to urge the sovereign's divorce. Even the metropolitan also consented to do so, and to act in concert with them. Meanwhile, Godoonov heard of what was going on, and persuaded Dionysius to postpone the affair. After averting this blow, Godoonov was determined not to leave the Shooiskies in peace. Then began a terrible epoch of denunciations. Annalists affirm that Boris taught servants to denounce their masters of real or supposed treachery. Consequently, in 1587, the Shooiskies and their friends were arrested,

exiled, and shut up in prison. The highest among the Moscow merchants were tortured and executed. On witnessing these proceedings, the metropolitan did not remain silent. He told Feodor of Godoonov's injustice. Godoonov, however, in turn calumniated the metropolitan in reports brought to Feodor. Dionysius was accordingly deposed and shut up in prison. His place was then filled by Job, archbishop of Rostov, a man entirely devoted to Godoonov. After the fall of the Shooiskies, and the deposition of the metropolitan, none dared to oppose Boris Godoonov, who was declared regent alike in interior affairs of Russia and in intercourse with foreign states. Godoonov, besides, received the additional titles of Grand Equerry, Great Boyarine, in immediate intercourse with the sovereign, Viceroy of the Empires of Kazane and Astrachan.

Foreign sovereigns were, moreover, made to understand that what they desired to obtain from the government of Moscow they should ask from Feodor's brother-in-law. Consequently, Godoonov carried on direct correspondence with the emperor of Germany, with Elizabeth, queen of England, with the Crimean khan, etc. The regent, besides, received in his own house ambassadors from these sovereigns. Godoonov's immense income, which he received from whole districts and towns, corresponded to his exalted position; so that he was able to maintain an army at his own expense. Karamzine states that in the historical archives of Moscow are still preserved several letters from Queen Elizabeth of England to Boris Godoonov, in which she addresses him as 'her faithful friend and favourite cousin.'

CHAPTER XXV

INTERCOURSE WITH POLAND

AT the epoch when Feodor Ioannovitch ascended the throne, and when, before his very eyes, a strife for the possession of power went on between Boris Godoonov and the other boyards, Batory closed his career in Poland. Till his death he had not ceased to threaten Moscow with war (1586). But however formidable Batory was to Moscow, it was threatened with new danger when a candidate for the Polish throne appeared in the person of Sigismund. He was son of John Vasa, king of Sweden, and Catherine Yagellon, and consequently nephew of Sigismund Augustus, the last of the Yagellon dynasty. Thus, if Sigismund in reality became king of Poland, he would join that kingdom to Sweden on his father's death, and thus combine the united strength of two states against Moscow. For these reasons Godoonov earnestly endeavoured to prevent the

election of Sigismund. Accordingly, the regent sent ambassadors to the Polish Diet; and they did all in their power to obtain the Polish crown for Feodor, or, if that was impossible, to favour the election of Maximilian of Austria, brother of the German emperor Rodolph. Meanwhile, the Lithuanians strove to favour the claims of Feodor. But it was difficult to maintain them, on account of his religion being different from their own; for the Poles were unwilling to have a sovereign who did not profess the faith of Rome. Feodor, of course, would in no wise change his religion. Besides, the Moscovite ambassadors had gone to the Polish Diet without money, which was necessary in order to form a powerful party. It thus came to pass that, although at first Feodor's claims seemed likely to succeed, they were eventually put aside. Two parties, the Austrian and the Swedish, upheld their own candidates, *i.e.* Maximilian and Sigismund. The latter, however, finally triumphed over his opponents, and established himself on the Polish throne.

CHAPTER XXVI

WAR WITH SWEDEN, 1590-1595

It was, notwithstanding, in vain that the Moscovites had anticipated so much danger to themselves, from the fact that a Swedish prince had been elected as king of Poland. In 1590 the Russians began war with Sweden, and the struggle proved favourable to them. Yam, Ivan-Gorod, and Koporié, taken from Ioann iv. by Sweden, were again restored to Russia; and the Poles did not aid the Swedes. Towards the close of 1592, John, king of Sweden, died. Sigismund of Poland then ascended the Swedish throne also; but his reign was not prolonged. He was a zealous Romanist, and the Swedes were Protestants. During Sigismund's short stay in Sweden, for his coronation, he excited the people against him by his evident enmity to Protestantism, and by the open violation of conditions made with state functionaries previous to the coronation. When Sigismund returned to Poland, the regency of Sweden was confided to his uncle Charles. The latter succeeded in gaining the love of the people, and was soon ready to take the crown from his nephew. Thus both rivals, *i.e.* Sigismund and Charles, hastened to terminate war with Moscow. Accordingly, in 1595, a permanent peace was concluded between Russia and Sweden, in virtue of which Russia received Yam, Ivan-Gorod (John's Town), Koporié, and Korelia.

CHAPTER XXVII

INTERCOURSE WITH AUSTRIA AND WITH ENGLAND—INTERCOURSE WITH THE CRIMEA, TURKEY, PERSIA, AND GEORGIA

DURING Feodor's reign Russia held intercourse with Austria. That state endeavoured to obtain the aid of the Moscovite sovereign against Turkey. Accordingly, in 1595, Godoonov sent the Emperor Rodolph an immense quantity of expensive Russian furs, valued at forty-five thousand roubles.

Elizabeth of England also used every effort in her power to obtain advantageous conditions for her subjects in commercial intercourse with Russia, and for that purpose addressed her communications to Godoonov in the most complimentary style. One of Elizabeth's ambassadors at Feodor's court was Mr. Fletcher, who has left a very curious description of the Moscovite state at that epoch.

During the reign of Feodor Ioannovitch, the government of Moscow was obliged to pay particular attention to the south, because, from the Crimea, inroads of plundering hordes were hourly anticipated. Besides, Turkey also constantly threatened to take away the conquests of Ioann IV.

In the summer of 1591, the Crimean khan, Kazi-Girei, advanced directly to Moscow itself. There, however, he was met by a powerful imperial force, and a fierce encounter took place which lasted for a whole day. The khan was defeated, and, during the night, retreated to the steppes. The spot where this battle took place now forms part of Moscow, and there was founded the so-called 'Donskoi monastery.' The latter takes its name from the 'Donskoi image of the Virgin,' which Dmitri Donskoi took with him, in 1380, to the field of Koolikov. Godoonov had ordered the said image to be transported to the imperial camp.

The Tartars, notwithstanding, made amends for this check by suddenly invading the districts of Kiazane, Kasheer, and Toola in 1592. From these regions so many prisoners were made and carried into captivity, that old inhabitants remembered to have seen nothing similar take place in struggles between Russians and Mohammedans.

War with Austria, however, withdrew the Tartars' attention from Moscovite Ukraine. That war, moreover, hindered the Turkish Sultan from executing his inimical designs on Moscow, although he did not cease to regard it with an evil eye on account of complaints from the Nogai Tartars of Moscovite oppression. Not only so; the Don Cossacks perpetually came in numbers before Azoph,

and by sea captured Turkish vessels. This enmity of Turkey, although not open, increased the friendship of Moscow and Persia, whose Shah, Abbas the Great, was also at variance with Turkey. Accordingly, a friendly alliance was concluded between Persia and Russia. The Russian ambassador, Prince André Zvenegorodski, was received with great pomp at Ispahan. At this epoch Moscovite boundaries joined those of Persia, because Prince Alexander of Kachetia, professing the Russo-Greek faith, had become a subject of Moscow in 1586. Russian priests, monks, images, etc., were sent from Moscow to Kachetia, in order to restore Christianity among a people surrounded by unbelievers. Besides, a Russian army was also sent to defend Prince Alexander; but the force suffered a great defeat in a battle with mountaineers.

CHAPTER XXVIII

CONQUEST OF SIBERIA CONFIRMED—ANNEXATION OF RUSSIAN PEASANTS TO THE SOIL—FOUNDATION OF THE PATRIARCHATE, 1589

THE achievements of Russia were, however, more successful beyond the Ural Mountains; for, although Ermak had prematurely perished in Siberia, his exploits there were not fruitless. Russia a second time conquered that country. Thus vast, unpeopled regions, which at first seemed to have been doomed by nature to sterility and the stillness of death, were gradually enlivened, cultivated, and inhabited. Labour and industry finally there introduced agriculture and the arts of European civilisation. Soon many towns began to appear, such as Tobolsk, Peleem, Berezov, Soorgoot, and others.

Among acts of interior administration, during the reign of Feodor Ioannovitch, the most remarkable were the annexation of Russian peasants to the soil, and the foundation of the patriarchate. At that epoch land was but thinly populated in Russia. Wealthy landholders, by granting great privileges to free peasants, had thus the means of urging them to quit the service of poor proprietors possessed of hereditary estates. But if it was advantageous for rich land-holders thus to allure peasants from poorer neighbours, this individual advantage was opposed to the interests of the state. One of its constant necessities was to augment armies, and to have a considerable number of soldiers in readiness. Armies were chiefly composed of nobles and boyards' children (militia of princes and boyards), who received land for their services, and who, at the summons of government, were obliged to appear on the field, 'accompanied by men, horses, and arms,' according to the expression of the times, or, in other words, with a certain number of fully-

armed men on horseback. But in order to maintain himself, and to appear on duty with the requisite number of followers, the proprietor could only reckon on the income which he received from his estate; and, in turn, the income depended on the population of the soil. Accordingly, individuals in service were thus obliged to have a permanent population on their land. And how could this be if a wealthier proprietor, by granting greater privileges, could allure peasants from a poorer neighbour? The state which bestowed land on a man in service was also obliged to assign him permanent workmen, otherwise he could not serve. For this important reason it accordingly was that a new law was issued, by which peasants could no longer freely quit land they had once occupied.

The chief dignitary of the Russo-Greek Church, during the reign of Feodor Ioannovitch, had his title changed from metropolitan to that of patriarch.

Although the Eastern Russian or Moscovite Church, since the middle of the fifteenth century, had been independent of the Church of Constantinople, the former had, notwithstanding, merely been governed by a metropolitan who was considered beneath a patriarch, and, in fact, subject to him. The elevation of the North-eastern Russian Church, as independent and prosperous, demanded its equality with elder branches of the Church, and Feodor desired to establish that equality. The nobles and clergy, too, approved of the sovereign's desire, but added that it was first necessary to obtain the consent of the whole Eastern Church. Accordingly, in 1588, Jeremiah of Constantinople, the eldest of all the patriarchs, arrived in Moscow. It was proposed to him that he should remain in the Moscovite state, but that he should live in Vladimir, as he was ignorant of the language and customs of Russia, and as it would be unseemly to remove the metropolitan Job from Moscow. Jeremiah, however, declined these proposals; but he consented to consecrate the metropolitan Job as patriarch. This took place in 1589.

CHAPTER XXIX

MURDER OF THE CZAREVITCH DMITRI IOANNOVITCH, 15TH MAY 1591

WE have already seen that Boris Godoonov overcame his enemies. All were forced to submit to his power. Some were silent; others were amazed; while flatterers sounded the regent's praise, and the happiness experienced by Russia during his wise administration.

Having thus obtained the foremost place among all the nobles, Godoonov was, meanwhile, forced to think of the future, and that future appeared terrible to

him. In fact, it seemed the more terrible to him the higher his actual position was. Feodor had no son during whose minority Godoonov, as an uncle, might have continued to maintain his previous rank. The successor of the childless Feodor must, therefore, be his younger brother Dmitri—removed to Ooglicht (government of Yaroslavl). Dmitri was brought up by his mother and her relatives, the Nagies, who, of course, hated the author of their exile. Not only so. The little prince was taught to hate Godoonov. Moreover, the feeble health of Feodor alarmed Boris. If the sovereign died, his consort Irina would pass from the throne to a convent. Dmitri would be proclaimed Feodor's heir; thus, all escaped from Godoonov like a dream! In reality, there was but a weak child between Boris and supreme power.

It is affirmed that Godoonov had purposely spread strange reports concerning the youngest son of Ioann IV. The little prince was said, even in early childhood, to show his father's fierce inclinations. Dmitri—according to the testimony of his calumniators—while one day playing on the ice with some little children of his own age, ordered them to make twenty figures of snow. To each figure he gave the name of a dignitary of state. Then he began to mutilate the figures, while exclaiming: 'See what I shall do when I reign!'

These reports, true or false, indicated a speedy catastrophe. Godoonov, it is affirmed, confided his fears and plans to those around him. One of his relatives, Gregory Godoonov, was shocked with what he heard. He was accordingly removed from the council. Its other members decided that, for the interest of the state, the purposed crime was necessary. The first attempts were unsuccessful; but, at length, emissaries of evil were found. André Kleshnine, an Okolnitchi, or individual immediately near Godoonov's person, is said to have received the chief instructions regarding the murder. His other helpers were a secretary named Bitiakovski, his son Daniel, and a nephew Katchalov. Dmitri's nurse, Volohova, and her son Joseph were also in the plot. Bitiakovski, his son and nephew, were sent to Ooglicht, with the ostensible reason of orders from Godoonov, to manage the domestic affairs of the Dowager Czarine, but, in reality, to seize a suitable moment for Dmitri's murder. Notwithstanding, this was difficult to effect; for Mary Nagi carefully watched over her son, and even prepared his food herself. One day, however, about noon, the nurse called Dmitri to come and play in a court near the house. There the assassins were already awaiting their victim. The nurse's son, Joseph Volohov, approached the child and said: 'Please your Imperial Highness, I think you have a new necklace!' 'Oh no,' replied Dmitri artlessly, 'it is an old one.' And as he unsuspectingly turned his neck towards the assassin, Volohov wounded him slightly, but the

knife dropped from his hands. Whereupon Daniel Bitiakovski and Katchalov completed the crime and assassinated the little prince. At the same moment the Czarine appeared. The murderers fled, and Dmitri expired in his mother's arms. The unhappy Dmitri Ioannovitch has been canonised by the Russo-Greek Church as Saint Ooar Dmitri. The former was his baptismal name; the latter, that he bore in the world.

1591—Murder of the Czarevitch Dmitri Ioannovitch.

Karamzine states that most of the ancient Russian princes had thus two totally different names. Each member of the Russo-Greek Church receives but one name in baptism.

While Dmitri was expiring, the cries of his mother attracted the attention of a church servant, who then chanced to pass by. When he learned what had taken place, in horror he immediately rang the alarm-bell. At once the whole town was in a commotion. All rushed to the palace. On seeing the blood-stained remains of the murdered Czarevitch, the enraged crowd seized the murderers, stoned them to death, or tore them to pieces. Some other individuals, suspected of having participated in the murder, were also put to death.

From a contemporary daily Russian newspaper we have learned that the old dwelling, where the above-narrated tragic event occurred, still exists in the town of Ooglitch, but was fast falling to decay until recently renewed in the ancient style of architecture.

The murder of the little Prince Dmitri Ioannovitch took place on May 15.

He was the innocent cause of terrible calamity in Russia, as we shall subsequently see, for pretenders appeared, who endeavoured to prove that he had not in reality been put to death, and who strove to obtain his inheritance.

For investigation, and also for the funeral of Dmitri, Godoonov sent several individuals to Ooglitch. Among them were Prince Vasili Ivanovitch Shooiski, the Okolnitchi Kleshnine, and Helasius, metropolitan of Krootitsk.

Karamzine gives minute details of the injustice practised by Boris Godoonov on this occasion. Emissaries placed on the road stopped all couriers, and questioned each passer-by. Finally, false reports were brought to Moscow. According to them, it was stated that the little Prince Dmitri had killed himself during an attack of epilepsy; although the absurdity of such an affirmation was evident. Notwithstanding, the patriarch Job, in an assembly of nobles and clergy, intimated, from the testimony of witnesses, that the death of the Czarevitch had happened from the judgment of God, and that the inhabitants of Ooglitch had unwittingly killed several persons indicated by the Nagies as the murderers of Dmitri. It was, moreover, insinuated that, through the carelessness of his relatives, the young prince was allowed to have a knife in his hands.

The vials of Godoonov's wrath were then poured forth on the Nagies. First of all, the sovereign ordered, and the clergy decreed, that the Dowager Czarine, Mary Nagi, should be shut up as a nun, by the name of Marfa, in a cloister of Bielo-ozero (government of Novgorod). Her relatives were next dispersed in different towns, and there cast into dungeons. As for the unhappy inhabitants of Ooglitch, some were immediately put to death, others had their tongues cut out, not a few were cast into prison, many, too, were sent in exile to Siberia as population of the town of Peleem. Dmitri's remains were then committed with honour to the tomb; and Boris Godoonov, as before, continued to reign supreme.

CHAPTER XXX

LAST EVENTS OF FEODOR'S REIGN—HIS DEATH, 1598

At this epoch an event occurred, casually, according to some, purposely, according to others, in order to divert public attention from Dmitri's death, and restore to Godoonov the people's favour which he had lost. A fearful fire broke out in Moscow, and reduced the greater part of the city to ashes. Then the regent was everywhere seen, consoling the unhappy, and making them promises which he fulfilled. Who occasioned the fire? Had it really happened accidentally? Did it break forth at the instigation of Godoonov, or by the malice of his enemies? From want of any positive proof, history is silent. Similar calamities are frequent in towns where wooden buildings abound. On the other hand, ambition and hatred are deterred by no obstacle. The regent and his enemies were capable of all. Boris Godoonov's efforts to aid those who had suffered by the fire were successful in procuring for him a return of popularity. All began to praise him. His partisans augmented more and more, some from servility, gratitude, or the hope of gain; others, from blindness to his faults, lauded all he did. Any who dared to oppose him, or to say the truth, had their mouths stopped by exile, torture, and execution. The successful repulse of the Crimean khan, Kazi-Girei, to which we have already alluded, and which occurred at this epoch, doubtless also not a little aided to restore Godoonov's popularity.

During this interval, news spread that Irina was to be a mother. Never before had joy so universal been manifested. Boris Godoonov feigned it too, though in his secret heart he was dismayed. But finally, Providence, which had granted him so much power, destined that he was to retain it. Irina had a daughter, named Theodosia. The burden was thus half removed from Godoonov's mind; and it was entirely quieted by the death of the little princess, when only

a year old. Godoonov's enemies insinuated that he had substituted a daughter for a son of Feodor, and that the regent had made away with the imperial child. Probably, however, her death was natural. But at all events the man who had ordered Dmitri's assassination could not be surprised at this suspicion.

We shall subsequently allude to this subject when we see that during the so-called 'troubulous times' of Russian history, impostors profited by the premature death of Feodor's child, in order to enact the part of a supposed prince, then said to have been born instead of a daughter.

Meanwhile, Feodor's health grew daily weaker; so that the ambitious Boris Godoonov stretched forth his hand towards the crown. In short, Feodor himself seemed to feel his approaching end, and left business entirely to Godoonov. It is said that in 1596, while on one occasion occupied with the removal of some relics, Feodor ordered Godoonov to take them in his hand, and thus addressed him: 'Touch these holy articles, regent of an orthodox people! Henceforth continue to govern with zeal! Thou shalt obtain thy desire; but on this earth, all is only a figure that passeth away!'

The death of Feodor Ioannovitch took place on January 7, 1598. With him terminated the ancient dynasty of Rurik, which had occupied the throne of Russia since 862.

1598, 7th
January—
Death of
Feodor Ioan-
novitch.

It is said that when the patriarch and boyards asked Feodor to whom he bequeathed the throne, the dying monarch replied: 'I leave all to the will of God! As He pleaseth, so it will be!'

The people then swore allegiance to the Czarine Irina: 'A proceeding without example in history,' says Karamzine. But Irina refused the throne, quitted the world, retired as a recluse, by the name of Alexandra, to the Novodevitché monastery. Notwithstanding, administration was still carried on in her name. Her brother, Boris Godoonov, also followed her example, and shut himself up in the same cloister. Then the state secretary, Tschelkalov, went out to the people, and urged them to swear allegiance to a council of boyards. However, the people would not hear of a government of nobles. But although Boris Godoonov had retired to a cloister, his numerous friends were acting in his favour. The actual head of the government was the patriarch Job, one of Godoonov's most ardent partisans. The following circumstances likewise in no small degree aided Godoonov. He had been in power many years during Feodor's reign; thus Boris and his relatives had amassed great wealth. Besides, others in office were obliged to him for their elevation, and accordingly maintained his cause. But more than all, Godoonov's sister had been proclaimed independent reigning Czarine. Thus, who would take the place of her own brother in

receiving the sceptre from her hands? Whereupon the patriarch Job, along with the other clergy, boyards, and citizens of Moscow, went to Godoonov and offered him the crown. But the far-seeing Boris refused it. He awaited chosen individuals from other towns; for these deputies must come to the capital to elect a sovereign. The Zemski (rural) Council confirmed the choice of the patriarch. Then after solemn repeated requests of the clergy and people, Boris Godoonov at length consented to place on his head the crown of Monomach.

When Godoonov a second time refused the throne, the patriarch again went to the monastery at the head of a procession, bearing aloft crosses and images, and accompanied by a great crowd of people. Job, the higher clergy, the boyards, entered the cell of the Czarine recluse, and there, amid tears and bowing down to the very ground, besought her to bless her brother as sovereign. Meanwhile, a multitude assembled near the monastery, wept, groaned, and constantly bowed to the ground. From some statements (Soloviev, p. 135) we, however, learn that Godoonov's partisans forced the people to go to the monastery, and threatened to levy fines on any who refused to go.

There is also a statement (Ilovaiski, p. 135) that the boyards wished to take from Godoonov a written promise, by which his power would be diminished. This it was which urged Godoonov to wait till individuals from rural districts assembled in Moscow. He hoped that these so-called 'Zemski deputies' would choose him unconditionally; and he was not mistaken. Furthermore, Godoonov desired great pomp at his election, because he well knew that many princely races, much higher in origin than he was, had better right to the throne. For example, among those descended from the Igorovitchi and Gedimin, such as the Princes Mstislavski, Schooiski, Golitzine, and others, there were also those nearly allied to the last sovereigns of Igor's dynasty, and distinguished by the love of the people. We allude to the Romanovs.

At this epoch it was also not without design that a report was spread concerning a dangerous invasion of the Crimean khan. After the election of Boris, he immediately armed a large force and marched to the south. But there, instead of hostile armies, he merely met the khan's ambassadors with proposals of peace.

Whereupon the new sovereign entertained the military at a sumptuous feast. He next returned to Moscow, and there was crowned. During the solemn ceremony he was deeply touched, and, turning to the patriarch, exclaimed: God is witness that in my kingdom there will be neither beggars nor orphans! I shall divide my last shirt with the people!

CHAPTER XXXI

REIGN OF BORIS GODOONOV, 1598-1605

THE first years of Godoonov's reign were in no wise different from that of Feodor ; for the administrator of supreme power was the same.

When Godoonov was finally destined to govern in his own name, his intercourse with western neighbours, and by far the most dangerous, *i.e.* Poland and Sweden, began under peculiarly favourable circumstances. These two states, whose union under one sovereign had but recently seemed formidable to Moscow, were no longer so, because they were at open enmity with each other. The Swedes soon refused to obey King Sigismund of Poland, and proclaimed his uncle Charles as their king. Sigismund in turn, of course, only considered Charles as a usurper. In consequence of this rupture, it accordingly came to pass that both Sweden and Poland sought alliance with Boris. The latter, like Ioann iv., did not cease to keep his eye on Livonia, and considered the shores of the Baltic necessary for his state. To obtain these regions so eagerly desired, or, at all events, a part of them, was, comparatively speaking, easy for Russia. But in order to effect this, it became necessary to form close alliance with the king of Sweden, and, along with him, to act against Poland. However, Godoonov's very individuality prevented him from taking any direct, decided, open measures. He thought that Sweden would cede Narva to him, and that Poland would cede Livonia, or part of it, if he threatened Sweden by alliance with Poland, or if he threatened Poland by alliance with Sweden. But these threats only irritated both Sweden and Poland, without alarming them by this petty, double-minded policy. In a word, Boris Godoonov dreaded war. He himself possessed no capacity as a general. He, moreover, distrusted the voevodes, and strove to make Livonia itself submit to him by rendering its inhabitants discontented with the Polish government. But this measure, strengthened by no decisive acts, did not produce any result. Notwithstanding, in order to have a vassal-king in readiness, as Ioann iv. had Magnus, Boris invited to Moscow an exiled prince of Sweden, Gustavus, son of Erik xiv. and nephew of King Charles. Boris wished to marry his daughter Ksenia Borisovna to Gustavus; but the latter would in no wise renounce the Protestant religion. Differences thus arose between Boris and Gustavus, so that he was removed, although with honour, to Ooglicht (government of Yaroslavl). It accordingly next became necessary to seek another bridegroom for Ksenia from among foreign princes,

and one was eventually found in Denmark. He was Prince John, brother of King Christian IV.¹ Prince John agreed to go to Moscow, and there to become an appanaged prince. The young bridegroom was received in the most sumptuous, flattering manner by Boris and the Moscovite court. But soon after his arrival in Russia he became ill of a fever and died in the twentieth year of his age.

Karamzine states that, according to contemporary reports, Prince John of Denmark succumbed from the effects of excess.

Boris Godoonov's intercourse with the Crimea was at this period favourable. The khan, who lived at enmity with the Sultan of Turkey, was forced to take part in war with the latter, but, on the other hand, saw the gradually growing power of Moscow, and that it was impossible any longer to invade the Ukraine (*i.e.* the country along the lower current of the Dnieper). For along the steppes one Russian fort after another began to be raised. The khan was thus forced to submit, and to make peace with the Moscovite ambassadors. As for the latter, they distinctly declared that their sovereign's forces were innumerable, and therefore he feared neither sultan nor khan. But if Godoonov's intercourse at this epoch was favourable with the Crimea, it was otherwise with the regions of the Caucasus. Indeed, the Moscovite state did not yet possess sufficient strength to struggle in distant countries with powerful forces of Turks and Persians. Prince Alexander of Kachetia, while he acknowledged himself the servant of Boris, nevertheless held intercourse with the powerful Abbas, Shah of Persia. Alexander even allowed his son Constantine to embrace the Mohammedan faith. But yet that did not suffice. Abbas exacted the complete submission of Kachetia, and ordered the apostate Constantine to kill his father and brother for their devotion to Moscow. The crime was accordingly executed.

In another direction, in Dagestan, the Russians a second time confirmed their power. But they were harassed by the Turks, and forced to quit Tarka. Seven thousand Russians then fell, along with voevodes, so that the power of Moscow disappeared in that country.

CHAPTER XXXII

FINAL STRUGGLE WITH KOOTSCHOOM OF SIBERIA—DECREES OF BORIS CONCERNING PEASANTS AND PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

In the regions of the Caucasus, Moscow could not yet defend those of its own religious persuasion against powerful Mohammedan races. But, on the other

¹ Anne, consort of James I. of England, was sister of Prince John of Denmark.

hand, its power was permanently confirmed in the country beyond the Ural Mountains. In Siberia, Kootschoom was still alive, and did not cease to make war on Russia. In 1598 he was pursued by a Russian voevode, Voeikov. The latter found Kootschoom near the river Obi and defeated him. The members of Kootschoom's family were made prisoners by the Russians, while the old man himself, along with two followers, entered a boat and sailed along the Obi. In that decisive battle the Russian forces amounted to four hundred men, and those of Kootschoom to five hundred. Deprived of all means to resist longer, Kootschoom went to the Nogai Tartars, among whom he was killed. The Russians then continued to build towns in Siberia, and to promote agriculture there. Roads of communication were also gradually constructed. Besides individuals in government service and labourers of the ground, merchants likewise established themselves in these newly-built Siberian towns.

As for the internal administration of Boris Godoonov in European Russia, he decreed the exact amount which peasants should pay proprietors, and how much work should be done for them. Boris likewise permitted the temporary removal of peasants from one poor proprietor to another, but not to the rich, so that they might not allure labourers of the soil from the poor. Godoonov also endeavoured to lighten imposts levied on the people, and strove to promote public instruction. He even wished to invite learned men from abroad to Moscow, and there to found schools where Russians might learn foreign languages. But the clergy opposed this plan. Boris then adopted other means, or to send young Russians abroad to different countries, in order there to acquire instruction. These youths, however, did not again return to Russia. In fact, Boris Godoonov was very fond of foreigners. He formed a separate military detachment of Germans, particularly from Livonia. These Germans received ample pay and land. Boris likewise protected foreign merchants; and as for his foreign doctors, they were maintained like nobles. This preference of Boris for foreigners, his persuasion of their superior knowledge to that of Russians, the necessity that the latter should learn from other nations, induced some Russians to copy foreign habits, even in outward appearance and in dress. This was remarked by contemporaries, whether native or foreign, who further state that during Godoonov's reign the custom of shaving the beard was introduced.

CHAPTER XXXIII

EPOCH OF SEDITION, DENUNCIATIONS, AND DISGRACE

DURING the first years of Boris Godoonov's administration, in the estimation of the greater part of the Russian people he continued to be exactly the same as he had been while Feodor Ioannovitch occupied the throne. Or, in other words, according to the expression of the times: 'Both outwardly and in mind, Boris Ioannovitch Godoonov surpassed all other men. He instituted much praiseworthy administration in the Russian state. He endeavoured to eradicate robbery, theft, and illicit trade in strong drink, although that he could not do. He was clear-sighted, gracious and compassionate to beggars. He shone by virtue; and, if malice and hatred had not darkened his mind, he might have been compared with the best Russian princes. But unfortunately he listened to the denunciation of calumniators against the innocent, and thus aroused the discontent of all nobles on Russian ground. Hence, too, originated much trouble to himself which caused his fall.'

In this wise, according to the testimony of contemporaries, all Godoonov's misfortunes arose, because he could not be compared to the ancient sovereigns of Russia; or, on ascending the throne, he had not sufficient magnanimity to forget his former enmity towards the boyards. He humiliated himself in terror before his previous rivals, suffered tortures from petty, morbid suspicion; and, by that very suspicion, he excited the nobles against himself, and they were the authors of his fall.

The first boyarine disgraced by Godoonov's suspicion was Bogdan Bielski, the former tutor of the Czarevitch Dmitri, and with whom he made acquaintance during the sedition which broke out at the commencement of Feodor's reign. Bielski had been exiled for participating in that sedition, but had been recalled from banishment by Godoonov. Boris had sent Bielski to the steppes with orders there to build a town, destined to be named Borisov. As Bielski was very rich, he spared no expense to entertain the military as well as those who were building the town. To the poor among them he gave money and clothes, for which acts he was loudly praised. But Bielski's evident desire to obtain the people's affection aroused all the suspicion and malice of Boris, the rather that Bielski was in reality to be suspected. Bielski was accordingly seized, arrested, exiled to a distant town, and there shut up in prison. But Godoonov's suspicion did not end there. Tormented by a feverish longing to know what distinguished

individuals said of him and of his administration, he encouraged servants to denounce their masters. The denunciator received rewards. Thus the evil quickly spread, and all classes seemed as if infected by a desire to propagate calumny. The consequences of these proceedings were arrest, imprisonment, tortures, executions. 'Never before had the Russian people witnessed so much misfortune during the reign of any sovereign,' exclaim contemporaries. At length evil reports were brought against the Romanovs, nephews of the Czarine Anastasia, by a domestic servant of Alexander Nikititch (Romanov). The Romanovs were accused of witchcraft, and especially of desiring to make away with Boris. That was sufficient. Godoonov's suspicion was aroused. The Romanovs were arrested along with all their relatives and friends. They and even their servants were tortured; but no discoveries were made. In 1601 the eldest of the Romanovs, Feodor Nikititch, was forced to go into a cloister. There he took the name of Philaret. Finally, he was sent in exile to the Antoniev Sieski monastery, government of Archangel. His wife, Ksenia Ioanovna (born Shestova), was likewise obliged to become a recluse by the name of Marfa, and banished to a distant cloister. Alexander Nikititch Romanov was sent to live near the White Sea; Michael Nikititch, to the districts of Perm; Ivan Nikititch, to Peleem (Siberia); Vasili Nikititch, to Yarensk (government of Vologda). The husband of their sister, Prince Boris Tscherkasski, with his wife and her little nephew, Michael Feodorovitch, the future sovereign, were sent to Bielo-ozero. Only two of the brothers Romanov survived their misfortunes, Philaret and Ivan Nikititch. The others succumbed to the cruelty they endured from functionaries while on the way to exile and imprisonment.

'Of all the brothers Romanov,' says Ilovaiski (p. 137), 'Feodor Nikititch was the most distinguished for his mind, his extensive reading, his attractive manners, and his beautiful personal appearance. When banished, he was at first kept under close inspection. Subsequently, however, his imprisonment was lightened, and he was promoted to the dignity of archimandrite.

'The first false Dmitri restored the surviving Romanovs to their previous position. At length, the archimandrite Philaret was nominated metropolitan of Rostov. Latterly, his consort and their son Michael established themselves in the Ipatrinski monastery (Kostroma), which belonged to the diocese of Rostov.'

CHAPTER XXXIV

FAMINE AND HIGHWAY ROBBERY

At the epoch when denunciations were rife in Moscow, a dire physical calamity desolated Russia. On account of failure of crops, during three successive years, from 1601 till 1604, a frightful famine occurred, combined with a pestilential epidemic. At that terrible time, Boris Godoonov used every effort to mitigate the suffering of the people. In order to give the poor work, he erected stone buildings, and among others the famous so-called 'Tower of John the Great,' at the Moscow Kreml (see Ilovaiski, p. 138). With generous hand, Godoonov at the same time also distributed alms; but unfortunately that expedient only augmented the number of beggars and vagabonds.

The suffering of the people during the above-mentioned famine surpasses description. They ate straw, hay, dogs, cats, and every other unclean food. The dead were even roasted, and mothers actually consumed their own children. Some annalists affirm that in Moscow alone, where many strangers had come with the hope of finding subsistence, 500,000 individuals perished. The living, tormented by hunger, roved about like pale shadows, groaned aloud, and, in despair, imagined God had punished them for the sins of an unlawful sovereign.

Famine and illness were besides followed by highway robbery. Those who had escaped death by hunger formed themselves into bands, in order that with armed hand they might obtain food for themselves. These bands were chiefly composed of bondmen, who had previously filled the houses of the great and wealthy. But the latter, during the famine, had been unable to feed numerous retainers, and therefore drove them away to seek food for themselves. The numbers of these bondmen, deprived of shelter and subsistence, were yet more augmented by the followers of nobles in disgrace, such as the Romanovs and others. For Godoonov had strictly prohibited any from receiving these followers. Many of the latter were accustomed to war. Thus they went towards the boundaries of Sieversk-Ukraine (or the present government of Koursk, Orel, and Tscherneegov), already full of persons only waiting for an opportunity to act against the state. Even during the reign of Ioann iv., a desire had been felt to people these regions with a military population, able to defend the country from the Tartars and Poles. Hence, criminals were allowed to save themselves from punishment by taking flight to the towns of Ukraine. It therefore happened

that, after the famine, numerous bands of highway robbers were formed in Ukraine. These robbers gave no free passage, not merely in isolated spots, but even near Moscow itself. The chief of these robbers was a certain Hlopka 'Kosolap' (*i.e.* 'twisted paw'). Godoonov was thus forced to send a powerful army, headed by the voevode Ivan Basmanov, against the robbers. The latter, however, fought with the courage of despair, and killed Basmanov. Notwithstanding, the imperial force overcame the robbers. Hlopka, half dead, was taken prisoner, while his companions-in-arms, attempting to return to Ukraine, were caught and hanged. Yet, in Ukraine, many more similar lawless bands remained. The black part they were destined to enact was only commencing. Strange rumours began to be circulated concerning a pretender.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE FIRST FALSE DMITRI—THE SO-CALLED TROUBLOUS TIMES

THE individual who first took upon himself to enact the part of the Czarevitch Dmitri was a poor orphan named Youree, son of Bogdan Otrepiev, in service in Galicia. Youree had belonged to the so-called 'boyards' children, or militia of princes and nobles. At an early age he lost his father, and, being in a state of extreme poverty, became a recluse by the name of Gregory.

According to Ilovaiski (p. 138), the following details are given of the first pretender :—

'He was a gifted youth, uncommonly bold, but light-minded and visionary. He had been attached to the houses of nobles suspected by Boris Godoonov, and, on that account, also became suspected. From childhood Gregory had led a roving life; and, in order to escape from trouble of different kinds, he went from one monastery to another, till at length he found refuge in Tschoodov cloister at the Moscow Kreml. There the patriarch Job consecrated Otrepiev as a Diakon (a lower order of the Russian clergy), and made use of his services to copy books and manuscripts.'

Karamzine indeed states that Otrepiev was remarkable for his beautiful handwriting, and that several documents copied by him, and still carefully preserved in Russian archives, are distinguished for elegance of penmanship.

Meanwhile, Otrepiev, while at the Tschoodov monastery, and also during his wandering life, carefully, and with extraordinary interest, learned all possible details concerning the death of the Czarevitch Dmitri Ioannovitch. At length a daring idea occurred to the recluse. In other words, he resolved to enact the part

of the murdered prince, by maintaining that he was still alive and that another child had been killed in his stead !

During this interval, reports of some imprudent words uttered by Otrepiev reached the patriarch and Boris Godoonov. Certainly the latter, as sovereign, had no cause to fear the indiscreet expressions of an insignificant recluse. But we have already seen that the conscience of Godoonov was not clear, that he had fallen a prey to suspicion, and finally, that in consequence he had arrested, tortured, and executed some of the highest nobles. Godoonov, accordingly, ordered a secretary named Smirnov Vasiliev to shut up the imprudent visionary in the Kirello-Bielozerski monastery. Smirnov, however, considered the order unimportant, and remitted its execution to another secretary, Efimiev. But Efimiev was a relation of Otrepiev, warned him of his danger, and furnished him with means to flee from Moscow. After again roving about in different directions, Otrepiev, in order to accomplish his plans, took the best means to do so by wending his steps towards Lithuania. For the hatred of the Lithuanians to Russia, as well as the domination of the Jesuits in the former country, and their great desire to submit Russia to the court of Rome, might all prove powerful means of aiding the impostor. While in Lithuania, Otrepiev for some time learned at a school in the town of Gatchi. Then he joined the Zaporogue Cossacks, among whom he became accustomed to the use of arms. There, too, he was remarkable for his daring spirit.

During Otrepiev's stay in Kiev, he gained the favour of the voevode Vasili Ostrojski, and took refuge in the Petschersk monastery. The would-be recluse was, notwithstanding, terrified at the probable punishment for his libertinism and dissolute life. He accordingly fled, threw off the monastic garb, and entered the service of a Polish pan (nobleman), Prince Adam Vishnevetski. On one occasion, while pretending to be dangerously ill, and while a Jesuit was enacting the part of confessor, Otrepiev said that a certain scroll under his couch would reveal who he in reality was. 'I am the Czarevitch Dmitri Ioannovitch !' continued he. 'But I conjure you to keep this secret till my death !'

The amazed Jesuit, however, hastened to communicate the secret to Prince Vishnevetski. The latter, overcome by curiosity and sympathy, hastened to the would-be dying youth, and, sure enough, under his couch was found a document in which the deceiver named himself Dmitri, son of Ioann IV., said to have been saved, by the fidelity of the boyards, from the persecution of Godoonov. But Vishnevetski, in spite of his credulity, still doubted. Then the pretender, seemingly against his will, and with feigned displeasure at his confessor for revealing the secret, thus addressed Vishnevetski: 'Yes, I am the Czarevitch Dmitri ! And here is a proof that what I say is true !' Whereupon he

exposed his breast, and there showed a gold baptismal cross, adorned with diamonds. 'This sacred gift,' continued the impostor, with tears, 'was hung round my neck by my godfather, Prince Miloslavski.'

The light-minded nobleman received these lies as truths, and soon his lavish care of the would-be sick man restored him to health. The impostor was thereupon lodged in a magnificent dwelling. He had numerous attendants and costly garments. Meanwhile, reports of this strange story spread over all Lithuania, deceived the credulous and rejoiced the malicious, who longed to injure Russia. The impostor was also aided by other powerful means. Prince Vishnevetski's brother Constantine introduced Otrepiev to his future father-in-law, Youree Mnishek, proprietor of Sambor and voevode of Sandomeer (present government of Radom in Poland). Mnishek was the richest Polish noble, and the most powerful in the Diet. Blinded by ambition, Mnishek also believed a vision to be reality. His imagination was, moreover, captivated by a brilliant prospect for his beautiful daughter Mareena. That famous Pole, in the bloom of youth and loveliness, witty, well educated, but proud, ambitious, and light-minded, who had hitherto rejected the highest matrimonial proposals, allowed herself to become deluded by the idea of being Czarine of Moscow!

Ilovaiski also states (p. 139) that Youree Mnishek greatly desired this match, in order to improve his disordered finances; while the Jesuits eagerly hoped that the pretender's union to Mareena would be a means of subjecting the Russian Church to that of Rome. Whereupon Otrepiev, in secret, embraced the Romish faith. In 1604 Mnishek conducted Otrepiev to Cracow, where he was presented to Sigismund III. by the Pope's nuncio, Rangoni. Sigismund had always been a tool of the Jesuits. Accordingly, it is scarcely wonderful that he believed the story of the impostor, especially when the latter promised to introduce the faith of Rome in all Russia. Sigismund was, however, in great perplexity. On the one hand, he wished to aid the pretender, and thus to occasion sedition in the Moscovite state. But on the other, he (the king) dreaded to violate the truce concluded between the two countries, and to offend the all-powerful Godonov, who could easily revenge himself on Poland by forming alliance against it with Sweden. Sigismund therefore resolved on stratagem. He acknowledged Otrepiev Czarevitch of Moscow, but not openly; assigned him an annual allowance, but did not give him troops from the Polish government; and allowed the nobles privately to aid the would-be Czarevitch. The whole affair was intrusted to Mnishek, who conducted the impostor in triumph to Sambor, where he openly offered his hand to Mareena. His proposal was accepted; but the marriage was postponed till Dmitri was firmly established on the throne of Moscow.

A marriage-contract was thereupon concluded, by which the pretender, amongst other conditions, stipulated that he would cede to his future consort all Novgorod and Pskov, with their districts. Besides, Mareena was to possess the power to govern independently, as well as to build churches and monasteries of the Romish faith.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE IMPOSTOR'S SUCCESS

MEANWHILE, Mnishek was urging the petty Polish nobles and the populace to take the pretender's part. Accordingly, all hastened to his standard. The exclamation, 'Long live our sovereign Dmitri and his future consort Mareena!' was then heard at Sambor, and in the neighbourhood of Lemberg.

During this interval, Mnishek assembled for his future son-in-law sixteen hundred men. They were chiefly formed of rabble from Polish provinces. Crowds of such individuals were also to be found in the steppes, and at the extremities of the Moscovite state. Consequently, powerful help already awaited the impostor.

News of what was passing flew like wildfire over all Russia. Many of the Don Cossacks, who disliked Godoonov, and robbers lurking in the lands of Sieversk, also joined the movement. Godoonov, meanwhile, could not fail to be alarmed; and, although convinced of Dmitri's death, yet well knew the love and devotion of the Russian people to their lawful sovereigns. As for the impostor, he began to act successfully. He set out on the expedition, accompanied by Youree Mnishek, two Jesuits, and several petty Polish nobles. Before Kiev, Otrepiev's militia was augmented by two thousand Don Cossacks and a multitude of diverse followers. Then he crossed the Dnieper and entered Russian territory (1604).

1604.

Boris Godoonov, during this interval, began to use energetic measures against a formidable enemy who could not be opposed by armed force alone. Documents were sent to the king of Poland, to the nobles and voevodes along the frontiers, with intimations that he who styled himself the Czarevitch Dmitri was only a fugitive monk, Otrepiev! In Moscow, the patriarch Job and Prince Vasili Shooiski persuaded the people not to believe the reports of the Czarevitch. The patriarch anathematised Otrepiev and his adherents, and everywhere distributed documents with news of the anathema, and persuasion not to believe in the supposed escape of the Czarevitch. But all such measures proved fruitless. The lands of Sieversk-Ukraine were agitated by the pretender's false documents.

The imperial voevodes openly said: 'It is difficult to make war on a born sovereign,' *i.e.* Dmitri, and his health was drunk in Moscow at festivals.

During this interval, the towns of Sieversk, one by one, began to surrender to the impostor, all save one, Novgorod-Sieversk (present government of Tscherneegov). Novgorod-Sieversk was commanded by the brave voevode Peter Feodorovitch Basmanov, the favourite of Boris. The latter then sent a force, led by the first boyarine, Prince Mstislavski, against the pretender. The two contending parties met at Novgorod-Sieversk; and although Otrepiev's army was much smaller than that of the imperial commander, the latter was completely beaten. For the doubt now began to spread among the Russians themselves: 'Were they not fighting against their lawful sovereign?' In fact, 'There was no hand to combat!' according to the testimony of eye-witnesses. Moreover, as Prince Mstislavski had been wounded during the engagement, his place as commander of the forces was taken by Prince Vasili Shooiski. On January 21, 1605, the pretender attacked the imperial army near Dobrunitchach, and, although he made a heroic resistance, was totally routed by the cannons of the Moscovites.

Godoonov, meanwhile, greatly rejoiced, and imagined that the pretender's insurrection had terminated. The sovereign's joy, however, was but of short duration. News soon came that the pretender was not repulsed, but that, on the contrary, his force was augmented by four thousand Don Cossacks, who had joined him at Pooteevle. In that town (government of Koorsk) he had shut himself up. There the Moscovite voevodes continued in a state of inaction, and made no use of their recent victory.

Such was the critical state of affairs in Moscow, when, on April 13, 1605, news suddenly spread that Boris Godoonov was dangerously ill. Feeling his end at hand, he adopted the monastic garb and the name of Bogoliepa. He then blessed his son and successor Feodor Borisovitch, and expired in his fifty-third year.

We must not omit to add that, according to Ilovaiski (p. 139), 'many suppose that Otrepiev's idea of declaring himself the Czarevitch Dmitri did not originate with himself, but that he was a tool of the boyards, who aimed at Godoonov's overthrow. Others consider the pretender as an individual instigated by the Jesuits. At all events, the question: "Who, in reality, was the first false Dmitri?" cannot even now be positively answered.'

CHAPTER XXXVII

REIGN OF FEODOR BORISOVITCH GODOONOV, 1605

ON the decease of Boris Godoonov, Moscow swore allegiance to his son Feodor Borisovitch. All Russian historians agree in praising this promising, estimable young prince as one endued with talent and wisdom. Moreover, he had been carefully and well educated by his father, according to means placed at his disposal. Many other towns followed the example of Moscow, and swore allegiance to Feodor Borisovitch. Thus the young sovereign, surrounded by nobles like Mstislavski, the Shooiskies, Bielski—returned from exile—and others, had no cause to dread the pretender. Instead of Shooiski, summoned to Moscow, Basmanov, the heroic defender of Novgorod-Sieversk, was sent to take command of the troops. But Basmanov could do little with troops powerless from uncertainty, and yet more disheartened by the news of Godoonov's death. On seeing all that, on seeing likewise that the bravest voevodes, who might have animated the troops, were against Godoonov, Basmanov did not hesitate to betray the son of his former benefactor; and along with Princes Vasili and Ivan Golitzine, and Prince Michael Gliebovitch Saltikov, on May 7, openly declared to the armies 'that the real sovereign was Dmitri!'

Then the soldiers, without opposition, declared him Czar. Cries of 'Long live Dmitri!' thereupon rent the air, from the Desna to the Oka.

The pretender meanwhile, from Toola, issued to the Moscovites a document in which he urged them to proclaim him as their lawful sovereign. On June 1, 1605, Pleshevs and Pooshkine excited the people and dethroned Feodor Borisovitch. Deep silence prevailed amongst the people when the impostor's document was read; but at length loud exclamations resounded: 'Long live Dmitri! Down with the Godoonovs!'

Soon the Princes Vasili Golitzine and Vasili Masalski reached Moscow, and deposed the patriarch Job. With loud cries the populace rushed into the palace, seized Feodor, his mother, and sister Ksenia, and placed them under guard, demolished the houses, and plundered the property of the Godoonov's relations. Then the patriarch was dragged out of church, while officiating there. His sacerdotal garments were torn off. He was clad in a black surplice, and shut up in the Staritzki monastery. Finally, with the impostor's consent, Feodor Borisovitch and his mother, the Dowager Czarine Mary Gregorievna, were

strangled. Ksenia Borisovna, after being exposed to the impostor's insults, was forced to become a recluse, and then took the name of Olga.

The remains of Boris Godoonov were destined to be interred no fewer than three times: first, in the Cathedral of the Archangel Michael, at the Moscow Kreml; then they were exhumed and buried at a part of Moscow now called the Srietenska, in the Church of Varsonophius; finally, the ashes of Boris Godoonov and those of his family were removed to the Trinity cloister, near Moscow, where these tombs are still in perfect preservation.

Karamzine praises the virtues of Mary Gregorievna, consort of Boris Godoonov, although she was the daughter of an odious man, Gregory Malioota Skooratov, the favourite of John 'the Terrible,' and one who often executed his sanguinary orders.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE TROUBLOUS TIMES—REIGN OF THE FIRST FALSE DMITRI, 1605-1606

ON June 20, 1605, the first false Dmitri entered Moscow in triumph with the ¹⁶⁰⁵ utmost magnificence, preceded by the clergy, and surrounded by a crowd of boyards (nobles) and military. Emotion and joy were expressed on all countenances. The weather was bright and calm; but suddenly a wind so strong arose, that even riders were thrown from their horses. Dust filled the air in pillars, and blinded the sight of the people. In terror, they made the sign of the cross, and believed that the event was a prognostic of misfortune. The false Dmitri then entered the Kreml, and, at the very beginning of his career, shocked the prejudices of the Moscovites, and violated the ordinances of their religion, by praying in the cathedral while trumpets and kettledrums sounded without. Rejoicing and feasting were then universal in Moscow. Notwithstanding, even among a crowd of happy faces some appeared mournful. Not a few recognised the pretender, and thus grieved for the misfortunes brought on Russia.

Bogdan Bielski, who had then returned to Moscow, solemnly proclaimed the impostor to be the real Dmitri, son of Ioann IV. So, too, at first did Prince Vasili Shooiski, allured either by the general opinion, or perhaps influenced by terror. Gradually, however, he began to hold a different opinion. Not only so; he commissioned a merchant and a doctor to tell the people that the new sovereign was an impostor. Otrepiev's friend, Basmanov, meanwhile heard the report, learned whence it had originated, and repeated all to the would-be Dmitri. Shooiski was at once seized and arrested. Otrepiev then referred judgment to a

council, composed of nobles, the clergy, and the common people. Shooiski was condemned to die. His head already lay on the block, when suddenly a courier hastened to inform that the Dowager Czarine Marfa had obtained his pardon. This made a deep impression on the multitude. Many then declared that Ioann's son did not occupy the throne, but that the would-be sovereign was only the fugitive diakon, Gregory Otrepiev. Shooiski and his brothers were destined to exile in a country town of Galicia; but while yet on their way to that spot, were brought back to Moseow. Their property and rank were then restored.

It became necessary for the patriarch to intimate in various districts that a new sovereign occupied the throne. But as Job had been deposed, his place was filled by Ignatius, bishop of Riazane—a Greek—who was the first among the high clergy to acknowledge the impostor as Dmitri Ioannovitch. But even that was insufficient to confirm him on the throne. He saw it was important to be recognised by his supposed mother, the Czarine Marfa. She was accordingly brought to Moscow. The impostor met her in the village of Taeninski. There he had a private interview with her in a tent. Whereupon he promised her that she would lead the life of a Czarine if she agreed to his conditions, but threatened her with death if she rejected them. Terrified into submission, Marfa recognised Otrepiev as her son; and at his special invitation went to Moscow. The impostor received her with feigned tenderness, kissed her hands, shed tears, blessed Providence for preserving his life, and finally conducted her with all honour and pomp to the Ascension monastery at the Moscow Kreml. Soon after Marfa's arrival the impostor was crowned, with the usual ceremony on such occasions. Thereupon special favour was shown to his supposed relatives, persecuted by Godoonov—*i.e.* the Nagies and Romanovs. They were recalled from exile, and promoted to distinguished positions.

'Not a day passed without the new sovereign being in the council,' says Soloviev (p. 143). 'There he astonished the boyards by his common sense and cleverness in the decision of difficult affairs, as well as his extensive reading. While noticing the ignorance of the nobles, he promised them permission to go abroad in order to acquire information. He at the same time intimated that he wished to govern the people less by severity than by magnanimity.' But if complaints were made of Godoonov for liking foreigners, so that their habits began to be imitated by many Russians, the latter were still more discontented with the false Dmitri for the very same reason. In fact, he had been so much beside those of other nations, that he had gradually followed their customs. From the liveliness of his disposition he, besides, could not become accustomed to the sedentary life of the ancient Russian princes. The false Dmitri desired to see

his bride as soon as possible. He likewise sought the alliance of Catholic states for general war against Turkey. Accordingly, for both these reasons, he esteemed the friendship of Sigismund, king of Poland. Notwithstanding, the impostor did not even then wish to sacrifice too much for that friendship, or in any way to injure Russia. Thus he would in no wise renounce the title of 'Czar' to please Sigismund, but added the title of 'Emperor,' and at the same time intimated that not a foot of Russian ground would be ceded to Poland. In intercourse with the pope, also, the impostor declined to introduce the faith of Rome in the Moscovite state. But in spite of these politic measures, he soon made enemies in other ways.

At length his bride arrived in Russia. Her state entrance into Moscow was brilliant and magnificent in the highest degree. The people were, however, both more surprised and afraid than rejoiced; for a terrible storm then suddenly burst forth. This, together with the large armed force of Germans and Poles who accompanied Mareena, all deemed evil prognostics. These strangers, moreover, conducted themselves very rudely towards the Russians, which, of course, did not fail to irritate the latter. Until Mareena's marriage, she was lodged in the Ascension monastery at the Kreml; and in order that a cloistral life might not be too dull for her, the impostor, to the great horror of the Moscovites, introduced different noisy amusements into that still retreat. Even Otrepiev's marriage, instead of joy, called forth the people's discontent by violating the customs of the Russo-Greek Church. For example, the wedding took place on a Thursday evening before a festival, and that festival Saint Nicholas's Day (May 9th). 'Then there was no end to merry-making at court,' say annalists. 'Constant sounds of music were heard, and cannons were fired. Otrepiev thereupon feasted, laughed, danced, played the buffoon, by which he lowered his dignity as a Russian sovereign. The Poles, too, more and more offended the Russians, ridiculed their customs, and derided the service of the Russo-Greek Church. All these events prognosticated a great change; and, in reality, the final scene in the drama of the impostor's appearance was at hand.'

Meanwhile, Prince Vasili Shooiski and the other boyards began to profit by the general discontent. As we have already seen, Shooiski, allured either by general opinion or terror, had at first acknowledged Otrepiev to be the son of Ioann IV.; but gradually the truth became visible, and Vasili Shooiski was the first to perceive it. From bitter experience, however, he only too well knew that it was impossible to excite the people against Otrepiev by merely spreading reports that he was an impostor. Shooiski, besides, also knew that most of the Moscovites already favoured a good-natured, affable sovereign, as Otrepiev in

reality was. It therefore became necessary for the conspirators to act with the greatest circumspection.

Shooiski's chief hope was founded on a force of eighteen thousand men assembled by the impostor near Moscow, and destined to undertake a campaign against the Crimea. For the greater safety of the Moscovites, it was agreed by the conspirators that an alarm-bell should be rung. Then all were to rush towards the palace. The cry was to be raised, 'The Poles are killing our sovereign.' Whereupon Otrepiev was to be surrounded and put to death. In spite of these stratagems, however, the plan of the conspirators might very easily have failed, had the impostor's own incredulity not aided the plot. He laughed at the Poles who warned him that the people were in a state of agitation. He listened to no denunciations from the German bodyguard, and despised every precaution.

CHAPTER XXXIX

1606

1606.

ON May 17, 1606, at four o'clock in the morning, an alarm-bell sounded. Then a crowd of conspirators and people rushed to a spot near the Kreml, still called the Red or Beautiful Square. There the boyards were already seated on horseback. Vasili Shooiski led on the people to revolt against 'the wicked heretic,' as he expressed himself. Otrepiev awoke at the sound of the alarm-bell, and sent his favourite, Peter Basmanov, to find out what had taken place. But Basmanov, in despair, rushed back to the palace with the news that all Moscow had risen in arms against Otrepiev. When the boyards had already entered the palace, Basmanov went towards them and begged that they would not deliver up Otrepiev to the people. Basmanov, however, was thereupon killed. Otrepiev then saw that resistance was useless. So, in terror, he jumped over a window, hurt his head, and broke his leg. The Strelitz on guard raised him, brought him back to consciousness, and would have taken his part, but the conspirators exclaimed: 'We shall go to the village of the Strelitz and destroy all the families there, if the guardsmen do not wish to deliver up the deceiver!' The Strelitz, terrified, replied: 'Let us ask the Czarine. If she says he is her son, then God is on our side.' The impostor also asked that his mother should be consulted, and that he should be transported to the Red Square in order there to have an explanation with the people. But there was no time for any explanation. Prince Ivan Golitzine came forward and declared that the Czarine Marfa had acknow-

ledged as her true son the child killed at Ooglitch, and had only agreed to the conditions of the impostor from fear of death. She, on this occasion, solemnly confessed her sin before God and before all Russia. Whereupon two shots put an end to the impostor's life. His body, along with that of Peter Basmanov, was thrown out in contempt at the Red Square. Masks were there put upon the faces of the deceased, as well as a guitar and a bagpipe in their hands. Meanwhile, an enraged crowd sought vengeance on the Poles. Loud cries resounded: 'Ruin and death to all heretics!' Then began frightful carnage. No quarter was given. Polish blood flowed in torrents; for the Russians were determined to efface the stains put on their church, on the throne, and on the people. However, Shooiski and the boyards succeeded in saving Mareena, her father, the Polish ambassadors who had come to the wedding, and other distinguished Poles. About four o'clock in the afternoon the fierce passions of the people were calmed; and a still, silent night followed a noisy, stormy day.

Karamzine narrates that at first Otrepiev was buried near a street of Moscow still called the Serpoohovskaia, but that, as a terrible storm then took place, the superstitious people thought it arose from the impostor's remains; they were, accordingly, exhumed and burned. His ashes were next put into a cannon, which was fired, and its contents were thus blown away by the four winds of heaven.

As he who called himself the sovereign, Dmitri Ioannovitch, was killed, it became necessary to choose his successor. Amongst all the Moscovite boyards, the most remarkable for mind, energy, and distinguished birth were two princes, Vasili Ivanovitch Shooiski and Vasili Vasilievitch Golitzine. Both had powerful parties; but Golitzine could not cope with Shooiski, for the latter had recently been the leading individual. It was he who first had unmasked the impostor, headed the conspiracy, and had been the popular leader against 'the wicked heretic.' Accordingly, circumstances most favoured Shooiski. At first, the boyards wished to summon chosen individuals from different towns, in order that a sovereign approved by all might be elected; but Shooiski opposed this. He feared that the advantage would then not be on his side, as the impostor's death (on which Shooiski prided himself) was entirely an act of the Moscovites, and, indeed, not even sanctioned by all of them.

On the morning of May 19, 1606, a large crowd assembled at the Beautiful Square, as on a previous occasion. The higher boyards and clergy then proposed to elect a patriarch, for Ignatius had been deposed as a friend of the impostor; 1606. and documents were issued to summon individuals from different towns to form a council to elect a sovereign. The people, however, shouted, 'A prince

is more necessary than a patriarch. Our sovereign shall be Vasili Shooiski!' None dared to oppose these exclamations; so Vasili Shooiski was proclaimed sovereign; after which, a patriarch was also elected in the person of Hermogenes, metropolitan of Kazane.

CHAPTER XL

REIGN OF VASILIO IOANNOVITCH SHOOISKI, 1606-1610

1606-1610.

WHEN Vasilio Ioannovitch Shooiski ascended the throne he took a solemn oath to the effect 'that he would never violate judgment along with his boyards; that he would condemn none to death; that he would not confiscate the property of brothers, wives, and children of criminals, if they were innocent; that he would not listen to false denunciations, but would investigate every affair as minutely as possible; finally, that he would put false witnesses to death, according to the accusation they had brought against others.'

To different districts documents were then sent, in the name of the boyards and all the inhabitants of Moscow, intimating the overthrow of the false Dmitri and Shooiski's elevation to the throne. In these documents it was stated that 'Greeshka' (the rude, familiar form of the name Gregory) Otrepiev had obtained the throne by diabolic aid, and that he had bewitched all the people by the black art. But these strange documents could only occasion perplexity to rural inhabitants, for, not long previously, they had received information from Moscow that Godoonov had been dethroned by the real sovereign, Dmitri. Now they were again assured that the same Dmitri was a deceiver, an evil-doer, a heretic, a necromancer. It was, moreover, stated that he had perished by his wicked acts; but how had he perished? That remained a secret. It was furthermore affirmed that a new sovereign had been elected; but how, and by whom? None knew. No members of the council from districts had participated in Shooiski's election. The new monarch had ascended the throne unknown to the rural population. The formalities, consecrated by custom, had been overlooked, in virtue of which a sovereign, not hereditary, could only be elected after general consent of the whole population, and not merely by approval of Moscow alone. Accordingly, Shooiski's document only occasioned discontent and distrust. None felt confidence in a man who had taken possession of the throne unknown to all. None knew what to believe. Thus an epoch of anarchy ensued.

But if the inhabitants of rural districts were discontented, so too were not

a few in Moscow. The people there were displeased because, since Shooiski's election to the throne, the boyards had much more power than the sovereign himself. Besides, some of the nobles were dissatisfied because they themselves wished to reign. Others were unwilling that Shooiski should be sovereign according to previous conditions. Not a few who had participated in Otrepiev's overthrow and in the election of Shooiski were also discontented because he was a miserly old man and did not load them with favours. He was, moreover, irresolute and unskilled in the art of government. Notwithstanding, all these discontented individuals were afraid to risk a direct overthrow of Shooiski, for they knew not where to find a better to fill his place. The dissatisfied, accordingly, desired a pretext for revolt. They required some one in whose name they could act—an individual of sufficient consequence to overthrow Shooiski, yet at the same time insignificant, so as not to be a barrier to the accomplishment of what each desired. In a word, it was necessary to find a new pretender; for Shooiski could only be overthrown as Godoonov had been. In addition to many in Moscow who desired Shooiski's fall, it was essentially agreeable to the Cossacks; for they thereby saw means to disturb the state and to live at its cost. Even during Otrepiev's life, the Terski Cossacks (living on the river Terek) had proclaimed one of their companions, Elias Korovine, as the Czarevitch Peter, said to have been substituted by Godoonov for a daughter named Theodosia, who had died in infancy. But besides this Czarevitch Peter there again appeared his uncle—a second Dmitri Ioannovitch!

CHAPTER XLI

INSURRECTION OF SOUTHERN DISTRICTS IN FAVOUR OF THE SECOND PRETENDER

ON May 17, 1606, while the conspirators were destroying the first impostor and the Poles, one of the false Dmitri's adherents named Moltschanov managed to flee from the palace and to quit Moscow. He wended his steps towards the Lithuanian frontiers, and everywhere spread the report that he was the real Dmitri, who had escaped from his murderers. In fact, among the inhabitants of Moscow the report was spread that such an escape was possible. The mask placed on the dead impostor's face caused a rumour that a substitute for him had been found. Of course, in country places, whose population knew nothing at all of what was passing, such reports were easily believed. Shooiski meanwhile saw that he could not bring the people to reason concerning the supposed escape of the false Dmitri. For this purpose, Shooiski caused the remains of

the little murdered prince to be exhumed at Ooglitch, and thence solemnly transported to Moscow. The ceremony took place with great pomp. Shooiski himself carried the coffin through Moscow to the Archangel Cathedral, and the innocent child who had fallen by a murderer's knife was canonised as a saint. His tomb, an object of great veneration to Russians, is still in perfect preservation. One part of the brocaded silk which covers the monument is worn away by the frequent kisses of the people. The unhappy little boy is known as Saint Ooar Dmitre; one name he had received in baptism, the other he bore in the world, according to a custom in ancient Russia, mentioned by Karamzine. Dmitri's name's-day is celebrated on May 15, when he was killed.

But in Moscow the second burial of Dmitri Ioannovitch produced only a disagreeable impression. Not a few distinctly remembered how Shooiski had once openly stated that Dmitri had killed himself in a fit of convulsion.

So Shooiski now was not believed. The people were in a state of uncertainty, as at the appearance of the first pretender. At this epoch, while the good were in apprehension, the wicked rejoiced and became seditious. Sieversk-Ukraine was soon agitated to revolt by the voevode of Pooteevle, Prince Gregory Shachovskoi. The Strelitz of the Ukraine country then chose for their leader a certain individual named Ivan Bolotnikov, a previous bondman of Prince Teliatovski, who had but newly returned from imprisonment by the Tartars. Bolotnikov applied to persons like himself. He promised them freedom, riches, and honour under the standard of the false Dmitri. Accordingly, crowds began to flock to that standard. Such individuals were chiefly composed of criminals who had fled to Ukraine to save themselves from punishment; fugitive bondmen, peasants, and Cossacks were likewise among the numbers. These lawless men began to perpetrate various outrages, such, for example, as seizing voevodes in towns and putting them in prison, etc. Servants attacked their masters' families, killed the men of the household, and forced the women to marry those of the very lowest condition. An imperial force sent against Bolotnikov was defeated. A nobleman's son, Pashkov, caused Toola, Venav, and Kasheer to revolt. A voevode, Soonboolov, and a nobleman, Procopius Liapoonov, excited the principality of Riazane. Towards the east also, along the Volga, in Perm and Viatka, the people rose in arms. Even the distant Astrachan took the part of the impostor.

CHAPTER XLII

STRUGGLE BETWEEN SHOOISKI AND BOLOTNIKOV—APPEARANCE OF A SECOND FALSE DMITRI, 1607

BOLOTNIKOV crossed the Oka, a second time defeated the imperial voevode at seventy versts from Moscow, advanced towards that capital, and reached the village of Kolomensk. By false letters and intimations he excited the Moscovite population against supreme power. In fact, Shooiski's reign seemed at an end; but the nobles who had joined Bolotnikov, Liapoonov, and Soonboolov, finally saw with whom they had to do, and hastened to withdraw. These nobles once more returned to Moscow, and humbly offered their services to Shooiski. The latter received them with joy, and gave them rewards. Tver and Smolensk remained true to Shooiski, and sent him troops. His young, talented, brave nephew, the voevode Prince Michael Vasilievitch Skopine Shooiski, defeated Bolotnikov, because the latter had been abandoned by Pashkov and other nobles. Bolotnikov was obliged to flee southwards, and shut himself up in Toola, where he was joined by the Cossack pretender, the false Peter, and Shachovskoi.

Then Vasili Shooiski took decided measures. He assembled a force of a 1607. hundred thousand men, and in May 1607 set out himself to besiege Toola. The besieged wrote to Mnishek's friends in Poland, and begged them to send a pretender of some sort or another. Accordingly, a second false Dmitri soon appeared. 'Who this new impostor in reality was, none know for certain,' says Soloviev (p. 148). Different reports were circulated concerning him, but they were contradictory. Some affirm that he was a priest's son. At all events, he was a clever, artful man, able to read and write, and likewise depraved in the highest degree. He manifested his claims in presence of the inhabitants of Starodoob (government of Tscherneegov). They at once proclaimed him sovereign, and all the country of Sieversk followed their example. Around the pretender there began to assemble a militia, augmented by emigrants from Lithuania; but with that small force the false Dmitri could not advance to liberate Toola. Its fate was accordingly sealed. Reduced by hunger, the besieged were forced to surrender. Bolotnikov appeared at the imperial camp, placed a sword on his neck, and exclaimed, 'Let the sovereign, if he wishes, order me to be beheaded; but if he pardons me, I shall become his most faithful servant.' However, both Bolotnikov and the false Peter were executed.

Bolotnikov was drowned, and the impostor Peter was hanged. Shachovskoi, as a nobleman, was only sent in exile to the Lake of Koolen.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE PRETENDER AT TOOSHEENO

VASIL SHOOISKI then returned in triumph to Moscow, but subsequent events proved that his joy was premature. Meanwhile, the pretender became gradually stronger and stronger. He was soon joined by Lisovski, a celebrated horseman from Lithuania; he had escaped capital punishment which threatened him in his own country. Some distinguished Polish pans (nobles) also came. Among them was Prince Rojinski, who became the pretender's hetman. The forces of the former were also augmented by Cossacks from the rapids of the Dnieper and from the Don. The Don Cossacks were commanded by Zarootski. But to the Cossacks one pretender was insufficient. History mentions several, who appeared by different names, and who endeavoured to enact the parts of princes who had never existed. For example, there appeared a certain Feodor Feodorovitch, but that impostor was put to death by order of the pretender of Starodoob. A monk of Pskov, Seedor or Isidore, pretended to have escaped death from Godoonov; this deceiver also came to a miserable end on a gibbet.

1609. According to Karamzine, about 1609, at the epoch of the second false Dmitri, the Cossacks from Astrachan brought with them no fewer than three would-be Czarevitchi, *i.e.* Augustus, Oseenok, and Laver. The first called himself son of John the Terrible; Oseenok was said to be son of the Czarevitch Ioann, murdered by his father; Laver was said to be son of Feodor Ioannovitch. However, all these insignificant pretenders disappeared, while the most important began to act successfully.

1608. During the spring of 1608 the impostor, along with his hetman Rojinski, moved towards Bolhov. There he defeated the imperial force, and marched towards Moscow, where, at that time, conditions of peace were being made between the boyards and the ambassadors of the king of Poland. A truce of three years was concluded. Certain conditions stipulated that Shooiski should send back to Poland Mnishek and his daughter, as well as all the distinguished Poles still detained in Russia after the first pretender's death. As for the king, he obliged himself to summon back all the Poles who took the side of the second pretender, and henceforth to believe in no pretender whatsoever, nor to aid his cause. Youree Mnishek was not to acknowledge a son-in-law

in the second pretender. Mareena was not to be considered as his wife, nor was she to assume the title of Czarine of Moscow. The royal ambassadors thereupon sent to inform Rojinski and his associates of these conditions, but they were in no wise heeded by Rojinski. On June 1 the false Dmitri approached Moscow, and pitched his camp on the road to Volokolamsk, in the village of Toosheeno, between the small streams Moskva and Vshodnea. In an engagement before Moscow, on the streamlet Hodinka, the pretender was defeated. But, notwithstanding, there remained little future consolation for Vasili, because not one Pole quitted the camp of Toosheeno. On the contrary, fresh detachments arrived. Among them was Ian Sapieha, starost of Oosviat, whose name, like that of Lisovski, has acquired so much celebrity in the history of Russia. But what was of more importance to the pretender than reinforcements was Mareena's presence in the camp. On learning that Mnishek and his daughter, according to conditions made between the courts of Russia and Poland, had been dismissed to their own country, the impostor sent to seize them on the road. The stratagem succeeded. Old Mnishek decided to sell his daughter to the 'Robber of Toosheeno,' or 'the Toosheenski Robber,' as the second false Dmitri is called, in return for ample promises. Thus Mareena, willing or unwilling, was forced to enact the part of Czarine at Toosheeno, a part far from enviable, as the 'Robber' treated her very rudely.

CHAPTER XLIV

'THE TOOSHEENSKI ROBBER'S' SUCCESS IN THE NORTH

BUT if the Poles so badly fulfilled the recent conditions made with Russia, as openly to maintain the cause of the second pretender at Toosheeno, it was natural that Vasili Shooiski should seek aid from the enemy of Poland. We allude to Charles IX., king of Sweden. This was all the more comprehensible, that Charles himself had frequently offered aid to Shooiski. The latter sent his nephew, Prince Michael Vasilievitch Skopine Shooiski, to Novgorod, where he began to negotiate with the Swedes concerning auxiliary troops. But while the Swedes only promised help to Russia, the impostor's Polish adherents were acting in his favour, both near Moscow and in the north. Sapieha at the same time wished to act separately, so he went along with Lisovski to the Trinity cloister near Moscow. That retreat was famed for its vast wealth. Siege of the Trinity cloister, Moreover, the besiegers hoped soon to take it; but in this they were mistaken. 1608-1609. The monks, aided by a few hundred Strelitz, made a heroic defence, which

lasted for sixteen months. Thus the besiegers could obtain no advantage. However, many northern towns fell into the hands of the Toosheenski troops, because suddenly taken during a period of doubt, sedition, and discontent then prevalent. In this wise the towns of Souzdal, Vladimir, Periaslavl, Zaltieski, Rostov, etc., were taken. In Rostov the Toosheenski troops seized the metropolitan Philaret, and sent him to the pretender, who ordered Philaret to be nominated patriarch. The fugitives from Rostov troubled and terrified the inhabitants of Yaroslavl, the best of whom quitted their houses and fled. The remainder went in submission to Toosheeno. Twenty-two towns then swore allegiance to the pretender, but most of them did so unwillingly, or because taken unawares, or allured by the example of other towns, in oppressive doubt as to the question, 'On whose side was truth?'

But the inhabitants of these towns were soon recalled from their state of doubt by the conduct of the Toosheenski troops, who only thought of obtaining money. For that purpose they burst into the dwellings of the rich, or into shops of merchants, took goods without paying for them, offended people in the streets, and offered insults without end. On learning these violent proceedings, the inhabitants of distant northern towns, not yet occupied by the Toosheenski troops, mutually sent each other documents, in which they decided on temporary acknowledgment of the false Dmitri. They, however, simply styled him Dmitri; a pretender, or robber, they did not call him, as they knew nothing for certain on the subject. But if the position of those in towns was bad, that of population in villages was still worse. The Cossacks had no moderation in their demands. Accordingly, revolts among peasants against the Toosheeno troops broke out, and one town after another, too, began to rise in arms.

CHAPTER XLV

STRUGGLE BETWEEN MOSCOW AND TOOSHEENO

At this period, while the towns of northern Russia were beginning to lose patience with the troops of Toosheeno, and to destroy its voevodes as enemies of Moscow—for the question, 'Who was the real sovereign?' was not yet decided,—a violent struggle was going on between Vasili Shooiski and his rival, the second false Dmitri, at Toosheeno.

We have already seen that at first only the very lowest of the population gathered under the standard of the pretender. Peasants went to him with

the hope of being peasants no longer, but of becoming proprietors instead of their former masters. But when near the ancient capital, Moscow, there arose a second capital, Toosheeno, with its own sovereign, its court, its armies, great sensation took place among all classes of society. A trader went from Moscow to Toosheeno in order to become an office clerk or a secretary; a clerk, in order to be promoted to be a member of the council. Finally, persons of more distinguished rank—such as princes, etc., but young men who had not yet received promotion—went with the hope of obtaining distinction; and their hope was not disappointed. At Toosheeno each received what he desired. As there were two sovereigns, one in Moscow, another at Toosheeno, both needed followers. Some even endeavoured to obtain rewards from both. Not a few, after solemnly kissing the cross before Shooiski, and swearing allegiance to him, immediately afterwards went to Toosheeno, kissed the cross before the pretender, received salary from him, and then again returned to Moscow. Shooiski received them favourably, rewarded them for their penitence, but soon learned that these penitents had once more set off to Toosheeno to ask wages from the pretender. Such individuals were then surnamed ‘Birds of Passage,’ on account of the ease with which they changed from Moscow to Toosheeno, or from Toosheeno to Moscow. Relations and acquaintances would assemble and dine together. After dinner, some would go to the palace of Shooiski, and the remainder would set off to Toosheeno.

In general, Vasili Shooiski was unpopular in Moscow. However, good citizens in no wise wished to change him for some boyarine, and still less for the ‘Toosheenski Robber,’ as they well knew what his triumph prognosticated. For these reasons, any attempts to depose Shooiski were fruitless. He, meanwhile, lived in a constant state of trepidation. The pretender, too, was not tranquil, for at his camp the whole winter, from 1608 till 1609, was spent in sedition and revolt, so that he could not act decidedly against Moscow. During 1608-1609. the spring the servants of the army rebelled, elected a commander for themselves, went about plundering one district after another, and did not think of returning to their master at Toosheeno. In order to subdue these rebels, a whole detachment was sent. Besides, the pretender’s forces were divided, and obliged to act in different spots. Meanwhile, frequent skirmishes took place between the contending parties near Moscow. During the summer of 1609 a decisive battle was fought near the streamlets Hodinka and Himka. At first the Poles gained the advantage, but afterwards they were put to flight by the Russians. That was the last important action between Moscow and Toosheeno, for the former was eventually saved by the aid of its allies.

CHAPTER XLVI

MOVEMENTS OF PRINCE SKOPINE SHOOISKI, 1609

1609.

PRINCE MICHAEL VASILIEVITCH SKOPINE SHOOISKI advanced from Novgorod to Moscow, with five thousand Swedes, sent by Charles IX. to aid Vasili. The Swedes were commanded by General de la Gardie. In return for this help, Vasili was obliged to cede to Sweden the town of Korela, along with its districts, and to declare himself the perpetual ally of Sweden against Poland. During the spring of 1609, Skopine began an attack on the Toosheeno troops. He drove them out of the towns of Staro-Roos, Toropetz, Torjok, Porhov, Oreshek, whose voevode, Prince Michael Glibovitch Saltikov—an adherent of both pretenders—set out for Toosheeno. After defeating the Toosheeno troops in two battles, Skopine advanced towards Moscow, whence from another side marched the boyarine Sheremetev, who had also brought several towns under subjection to Vasili. In this wise the north was cleared, and the chief forces of Vasili from east and west united in Moscow, before whose walls a decisive battle was to be fought with the pretender. The latter was therefore much alarmed. But the storm which had arisen near him passed off in a different direction.

CHAPTER XLVII

THE POLISH KING ENTERS THE MOSCOVITE STATE—CONSEQUENCES OF
THAT ENTRANCE REGARDING TOOSHEENO

AT the commencement of Vasili's reign, the king of Poland was threatened by sedition among his own subjects, and therefore he had no time to think of Moscow. But when the sedition terminated in his favour, he once more turned his attention to outward affairs. Of course he was offended by the perpetual alliance the Moscovites had formed with Sweden against him. Besides, the Polish ambassadors who had returned from Moscow assured Sigismund that the Russian nobles were on his side, and that if he only appeared within the boundaries of Moscow, his son Vladislav would immediately be proclaimed sovereign of that state. But as Sigismund's power was only very limited, he could not merely think of his own family interests. Accordingly he was first obliged to promise both to the Senate and the Diet, that in the event of war between Russia and Poland he would exclusively think of advantage to the latter state. This explains why Sigismund hastened to obtain for Poland an important spot in Moscovite possessions. Such a spot was Smolensk, long a subject of dispute between Moscow and Lithuania.

Sigismund was informed that Shein, voevode of Smolensk, and its inhabitants would willingly submit to Poland. The king was especially hurried by Leo Sapieha, chancellor of Lithuania. So, on September 21, 1609, Sigismund stood before the walls of Smolensk. He, meanwhile, sent a document to its inhabitants, in order to testify that he had not come to shed the blood of Russian people, but on the contrary to defend them, and that he especially would endeavour to preserve inviolate the Russo-Greek faith. But the inhabitants of Smolensk were not so easily duped by such statements. They, like their neighbours the Lithuanians, knew very well all that went on, how zealous Sigismund was for Catholicism, and how he harassed the Russo-Greek Church. The good citizens of Smolensk accordingly answered that they had vowed to die for their country, their sovereign, their own religion; and as for the Lithuanian king, and his pans (nobles), none in Smolensk wished to know them. So the very commencement of the siege was unsuccessful for the king.

Not Smolensk, however, but Toosheeno felt the whole injury of the king's campaign. Great agitation prevailed. The Poles loudly complained that Sigismund had come to appropriate all they had obtained by their labour, and by shedding their blood. Soon afterwards, royal ambassadors arrived at Toosheeno, and demanded that all Poles should quit the false Dmitri and join Sigismund. Conferences then began, accompanied by much excitement, for all the impostor's future depended on the conditions made. Meanwhile, none paid attention to him, though he styled himself sovereign of Russia. The Polish commanders, placed in an unpleasant position, loaded him with reproaches, and even threatened him with corporal punishment. Such being the state of affairs, the impostor resolved to flee from Toosheeno. He thus did so one evening, dressed as a peasant, and seated on a cart of manure! According to Karamzine, the false Dmitri went to Kalooga, where he met with a hearty reception. After his retreat, Rojinski and his companions had no other alternative than to comply with Sigismund's demands. But there were still many Russians left in Toosheeno. What were they to do there? Certainly, they could not alone maintain the pretender's cause. The Poles would not have allowed that. In fact, they thought that the pretender would with difficulty succeed. These Toosheeno Russians could not resolve to ask Shooiski's pardon, and to exchange their actual position for one unknown, even if they obtained forgiveness. In short, the Russians and remaining Poles at Toosheeno saw but one alternative; in other words, to accept the conditions of the royal ambassadors, who persuaded them to submit to Sigismund, and to place themselves under his protection. They accordingly did so, and sent their representatives to Sigismund.

1610.

On January 31, 1610, the ambassadors of the Toosheeno Russians were formally presented to the king. Among them were individuals of various sorts. For example, there was the boyarine Michael Gliebiovitch Saltikov. There also were princes and secretaries. Among the latter, the first place was occupied by Gramotine, a man of very doubtful morality, but able to read and write, besides being active and a good manager of business. There also was a certain Feodor Andronov, previously a Moscow tanner, elevated during the troublous times, and who had known how to gain the favour of the first pretender. Andronov had also managed to obtain an advantageous situation while the second impostor was at Toosheeno. These persons intimated that they were ready to recognise Sigismund's son, Prince Vladislav, sovereign of Moscow, and wrote the following conditions:—First of all, that the Russo-Greek faith was to be inviolably preserved. Second, that the rights of the higher classes were also to be maintained. Third, no change of law was to take place without the consent of the boyards and of the whole Zemski (rural) Council. Fourth, no one was to be executed without the boyards and members of the council having been previously consulted. Fifth, persons of high rank were not to be degraded if innocent; and those of low degree were to be raised on account of their services. As far as the last condition is concerned, we immediately recognise the influence of secretaries and individuals like Andronov, many of whom were at the camp of Toosheeno—those, in fact, of insignificant origin, suddenly whirled aloft from obscurity by the hurricane of the troublous times. Certainly, they wished to retain their position, and demanded that the new government should elevate individuals of low degree who had rendered services. Another curious condition was added in which we remark the influence of Saltikov and other adherents of the first impostor, as well as the protracted stay of Russians, beside foreigners, at Toosheeno: namely, that any of the Moscovites were free to go to other Christian states, in order there to study science. But while the Toosheeno Russians stipulated that they themselves might freely go abroad, they notwithstanding demanded that the king should not permit peasants to do so, and also that he would not liberate bondmen.

Meanwhile, great agitation prevailed at Toosheeno. Mareena, disguised as a hussar, secretly fled from the camp. First she went to Sapieha, who had raised the siege of the Trinity cloister in 1610, and who had afterwards established himself at Dmitrov. Thence she went to Kalooga, to her husband. The latter had not yet renounced all hope of maintaining his position, and was principally supported by the Cossacks. Finally, during the first days of 1610, Rojinski set fire to the camp, or rather to the town of Toosheeno, and went along the road to Volokolamsk. In this wise, Moscow was delivered from Toosheeno without a

battle. Soon Sapieha also left Dmitrov, and moved towards Volokolamsk. Consequently, Prince Skopine could unhindered enter Moscow.

CHAPTER XLVIII

TRIUMPH OF SKOPINE—HIS DEATH, 1610

THIS famous young voevode was not more than twenty-four. During one brief 1610. year he had obtained glory only acquired by other commanders after lifelong exploits; and what was still more important, he had gained the unfeigned affection of all good citizens, who longed to see their country delivered from anarchy. At the very same time as Skopine's old unpopular uncle Vasili Shooiski could do nothing for the state, remained besieged, and in consequence of his inaction actually disappeared from view, the most prominent part was in reality enacted by Prince Michael Vasilievitch Skopine Shooiski. In fact, along with his very name good citizens associated all hope of being saved, all hope of a better future. And truly the appearance and disposition of young Skopine had powerfully contributed to obtain the people's love. Of singularly beautiful exterior, endued with no ordinary mind, maturity of judgment far beyond his years, brave yet prudent, adroit in intercourse with foreigners—all who knew him spoke of him in the highest terms. Such was the man to whom it was apparently assigned to clear the Moscovite state of vagabonds, thieves, and Poles, to support the tottering throne of his old uncle, to reconcile the Russian people to the family of the Shooiskies, to confirm their power in the state. For, on the death of the childless Vasili, the voice of all the nation could not fail to nominate as his successor the favourite of the people. But if the latter felt quieter since they had a support in the sovereign's nephew, and if he was destined to wait till he legally inherited the throne by his uncle's death, Liapoonov, from Riazane, had not patience to wait. In his own name he sent envoys to Skopine, to congratulate him as sovereign, and also to give him a document full of reproaches against Vasili. At first, Skopine tore the document to pieces, and ordered the envoys to be seized. But afterwards he allowed them to go free, and sent them back to Riazane, without any denunciation against them in Moscow. This was unfortunately made use of in order to calumniate Skopine in his uncle's eyes.

On March 21, 1610, Skopine and De la Gardie had a triumphal entry into Moscow, and were received with rapture by its inhabitants. Vasili Shooiski also met his nephew joyfully; but not so Dmitri, Vasili's brother. The former considered himself the lawful heir to the throne, and saw a powerful rival in the

March 21,
1610—
Skopine's
triumphal
entry into
Moscow.

person of Michael Vasilievitch Skopine Shooiski. Dmitri consequently hated the young man. Karamzine narrates how Skopine's friends, with more zeal than prudence, openly compared him and his uncle Vasili to Saul and David. De la Gardie, on hearing of different court intrigues, warned Skopine, and urged him to quit Moscow as soon as possible, in order to march against Sigismund at Smolensk, where his position was far from being enviable. For Smolensk did not surrender, and it was necessary to take the towns of Sieversk with great effort and with frightful slaughter. Rojinski, who had halted with the Toosheeno Poles at the Iosif Volokolamsk monastery, died there. After his death, the Poles were forced out of the monastery by the Russians and their allies the Swedes. The Poles were thus obliged to abandon the Russians they had brought from Toosheeno. Among their number was the metropolitan Philaret, who, in this wise, was enabled to go to Moscow. One part of the Toosheeno fugitives went to the impostor at Kalooga, the others decided on joining the king. But neither Sigismund nor the impostor received benefit from such help. The latter saw Moscovite detachments before the walls of Kalooga, while the former, who counted on sedition in the Moscovite state, advanced with but a small force against Smolensk, in order there to meet a powerful, exasperated foe. In fact, Sigismund, on seeing the danger of his position, tried to come to terms with Vasili. But Vasili, encouraged by the favourable turn events had taken for him, refused any advances. However, fortune smiled on Vasili only for a brief interval.

On April 23, 1610, Skopine was invited to a christening festival at the house of Prince Voroteenski. There, Skopine's aunt Catherine, wife of Dmitri Shooiski, brought the young man a cup of wine. After tasting it, Skopine immediately became ill. His attendants carried him home. Blood constantly flowed from his nose. That continued, more or less, for the space of two weeks, when he died. Reports of poison were at once circulated; although Soloviev affirms they were unfounded. The crime, however, was imputed to Dmitri Shooiski, and even to Vasili himself. This suspicion, and Skopine's death, finally ruined the cause of Vasili Shooiski; for Skopine alone was a strong bond between the sovereign and the people, and maintained the latter in the hope of a better future. Karamzine touchingly describes the people's grief at the funeral of poor Skopine. His tomb is still in perfect preservation, and is in the Cathedral of the Archangel Michael, at the Kreml of Moscow, where also are interred princes of royal race. 'It has been the fate of very few mortals to obtain immortal glory at the early age of twenty-four,' continues Karamzine.

Meanwhile, a voice was heard proclaiming a way of escape from the terrible position in which Russia then was. The voice was one well known, for it was

that of Liapoonov. The voevode of Riazane rose in arms against Vasili Shooiski, and insisted that he should be deposed. Liapoonov then held conferences with the pretender in Kalooga, and also took counsel with Prince Vasili Vasilievitch Golitzine, who eagerly desired to occupy the throne after Vasili Shooiski had left it vacant.

CHAPTER XLIX

VASILI SHOOISKI DEPOSED FROM THE THRONE, 1610

AT the same time as Liapoonov had raised revolt in Riazane, the Moscovite 1610. troops and their Swedish auxiliaries were marching against the Poles in the direction of Smolensk. And who was the commander-in-chief? Prince Dmitri Shooiski, accused of having poisoned his nephew; unpopular, besides, on account of pride; despised, too, for weakness of character. The king, on learning that this army was advancing, sent against it his hetman, Stanislav Jolkievski, who attacked Shooiski (24th June) near the village of Klooshina. There, thanks to the treachery of foreign allies, Shooiski was completely beaten. After this victory, Jolkievski proclaimed Prince Vladislav sovereign of Russia, and entered Moscow, while, from another side, the pretender also hastened there from Kalooga, with the hope that the Moscovites in extremity would rather submit to him, than recognise a Polish prince as their sovereign. Zacharias Liapoonov (brother of Procopius) had already excited Moscow to revolt.

On July 17 a crowd assembled at the Beautiful Square (near the Kreml). Thence, for want of space, all present went beyond the river Moskva; and there the nobles and people petitioned Vasili Shooiski that he would quit the throne, because blood everywhere flowed, and popular voice proclaimed him an unlucky sovereign. The Ukraine towns, too, no longer wished to acknowledge him; for they had joined the 'Robber of Toosheeno.'

Karamzine, while blaming all the faults of Vasili Ioannovitch Shooiski, notwithstanding praises his bravery, and adds that 'he fell with majesty, amid the ruins of an empire.'

Ilovaiski (p. 143) likewise states the following incident:—'When Moscow was besieged, and provisions began to fail, many discontented persons in service endeavoured to depose Shooiski. They assembled at the Kreml, took the patriarch Hermogenes out of the Assumption cathedral, and began to shout aloud that Shooiski was elected illegally, because only chosen by Moscow, unknown to other towns. The patriarch tried to bring them to reason; and, among other remarks,

said : "Till now, neither Novgorod nor Kazane, nor Astrachan nor Pskov, dictated to Moscow, but Moscow has dictated to all towns!" The conspirators then rushed to the palace. But Vasili, on seeing that the boyards and inhabitants of Moscow remained quiet, boldly advanced towards the rebels, and thus addressed them: "Do you wish to kill me? But to depose me without consent of the boyards, and of the whole country, you cannot!"

The conspirators then retired and went to Toosheeno.

Vasili Ioannovitch Shooiski was, however, eventually obliged to comply with the manifestation of his subjects; or, in other words, that he should abdicate. Accordingly, he quitted the palace, and once more occupied his own house. But even that was an insufficient concession. On July 17 Zacharias Liapoonov and his associates by force seized Vasili and made him a monk. He was thereupon placed in the Tschoodov monastery (at the Moscow Kreml). His wife also was compelled to take the veil. Two of his brothers were then arrested, and placed under a strong guard.

The consort of Vasili Shooiski was Mary Bovinosov Rostovski (as a recluse, Helena). They had three daughters, Mary, Anna, and Anastasia, who died in infancy.

CHAPTER L

THE INTERREGNUM, 1610-1613—VLADISLAV, SON OF SIGISMUND, PROCLAIMED SOVEREIGN OF RUSSIA

1610-1613. AFTER Shooiski's deposition, supreme power was invested in a council of boyards, the chief of whom was Prince Mstislavski. To him, all were obliged to swear allegiance, till a new sovereign was elected. But who was to be the new sovereign? The greater part of the Russians in no wise favoured the Polish prince, Vladislav. The lower orders took the part of the false Dmitri. The higher ranks, however, and also the middle class, were totally averse to him, and declared that he was only a robber and a chief of Cossacks. The patriarch Hermogenes demanded that a Russian nobleman should be chosen, and even suggested Prince Vasili Vasilievitch Golitzine, or a youth in his fourteenth year, *i.e.* Michael Feodorovitch Romanov, son of the metropolitan Philaret (Feodor) Nikititch. But on this occasion the patriarch's desire was overruled. Meanwhile, the Polish hetman, Jolkievski, occupied Mojaisk (government of Moscow), and loudly demanded that the Russians should acknowledge Vladislav as their sovereign. At the same time, the false Dmitri was at the village of Kolomensk.

The temporary government could not at once get quit of Jolkievski and the false Dmitri, especially as the latter had many adherents among the lower orders in the towns. It was then impossible to form an assembly of all classes, in order to elect a sovereign. Thus it was necessary to choose between two ready candidates for the throne, or, in other words, the false Dmitri and Vladislav. On learning that the partisans of the former wished secretly to bring his troops into Moscow, Prince Mstislavski, the chief boyarine, sent to Jolkievski, begging him to come at once to the capital. When he was before Moscow, conferences between him and the boyards commenced. Jolkievski intimated that he could only consent to the election of Vladislav on the same conditions as the Toosheeno Russians had made before Smolensk. But as the boyards insisted that Vladislav should embrace the Russo-Greek faith previous to his arrival in Moscow, Jolkievski replied that so important a condition could only be decided by the king himself. On August 27 the Moscovites took a solemn oath of allegiance to Prince Vladislav. But, two days afterwards, Feodor Andronov arrived from Smolensk with a letter from Sigismund. The king demanded that the Moscovite state should be conferred on himself, and not on his son. In Andronov's traces came a Pole, Gonsievski, with minute instructions for the hetman. But not only the latter, even Gonsievski himself perceived that to obey the king's commands was impossible, as his very name was hated by the Moscovite people. The fact was acknowledged by Poles also. Jolkievski, during this interval, did not publish the royal mandates, but kept the promise he had made to the boyards, drove the pretender from Moscow, back again to Kalooga, and began to insist on speedily sending ambassadors to Sigismund, in order to arrange all affairs. That embassy gave Jolkievski the opportunity to remove from Moscow several suspicious individuals indicated by the patriarch to the people as suitable occupants of the throne. In other words, Jolkievski persuaded Prince Golitzine to undertake the embassy, and thus, having got quit of the most active and formidable nobleman, it was easy to settle with the others. As for Michael Feodorovitch Romanov, he was still so very young that he could not be included among the ambassadors. Jolkievski, moreover, decided that an ambassador from among the clergy should be sent in the person of Michael's father, the metropolitan Philaret. In the latter were combined distinguished position and aristocratic origin, not possessed by the other clergy.

CHAPTER LI

EMBASSY OF PHILARET (FEODOR) NIKITITCH AND PRINCE VASILI VASILIEVITCH GOLITZINE TO KING SIGISMUND OF POLAND—THE POLES ENTER MOSCOW—DEPARTURE OF JOLKIEVSKI—CONFERENCES OF THE AMBASSADORS WITH THE POLISH PANS (NOBLES) BEFORE SMOLENSK

PHILARET and Prince Vasili Vasilievitch Golitzine accordingly went as ambassadors to the king before Smolensk. Meanwhile, Jolkievski remained before Moscow, with but a small force, and in a very dangerous position. The hetman clearly saw that only dire necessity had forced the Russians to acknowledge a foreign prince as their sovereign, but that they would never really do so if he did not embrace the Russo-Greek religion. As for Sigismund, he would in no wise consent to the latter condition. However, the impostor aided Jolkievski. Overawed by the lower orders, who did not cease to testify their sympathy with the false Dmitri, the boyards themselves proposed to Jolkievski to bring Polish troops directly into Moscow. At first the patriarch greatly opposed this measure, but he finally yielded. Accordingly, during the night between the 20th and the 21st of September, the Poles quietly entered the capital. Jolkievski, for his own interest, did all in his power to prevent any collision between the Poles and the Russians. Any differences were judged by an equal number of persons of both nations. In fact, judgment was at once strict and impartial. Jolkievski himself, by his obliging manners, as well as by presents and entertainment, gained the good-will of the Strelitz. He was even on friendly footing with the patriarch. Jolkievski, however, was uneasy. He well knew that an insurrection would at once break out when the people knew Sigismund's determination not to send his son to Moscow, and that the news would speedily come. Accordingly, the hetman hastened to quit Moscow, and, in his stead, left Gonsievski. Jolkievski seized and took with him the imperial treasury, as well as the deposed Prince Vasili Ioannovitch Shooiski, his consort, his two brothers, and relations, 'in order that they might not occasion any sedition.' Two other suspicious individuals, *i.e.* Philaret and Prince Vasili Golitzine, were already before Smolensk, and in the king's power. In Sigismund's council it was finally decreed not to send Vladislav to Moscow, on account of his extreme youth, and because he could not there obtain the careful education his exalted position demanded. The king also naturally argued that as his son had been elected merely from necessity, he would be deposed on the first appearance of any discontent. The great stumbling-

block to the Russians was his religion. Sigismund, however, resolved not to refuse their demands openly, but to allure them by promises. When this was done, the Polish nobles next required that Smolensk should surrender to the king. The ambassadors, however, would in no wise comply with that demand, and insisted that Vladislav's presence was necessary in Moscow to terminate sedition there. Much time was thus lost in useless disputes, during which the Polish nobles allowed themselves to treat the ambassadors very cruelly. Meanwhile, Jolkiewski's arrival before Smolensk did not aid matters at all. On seeing the inflexibility of the elder ambassadors, Jolkiewski applied to those of secondary position, and advised them to go to Moscow in order to act in favour of the king. The hetman likewise urged Tomeela Loogooski, secretary of the council, to go before Smolensk, and to persuade its inhabitants to surrender. Loogooski, however, refused to comply with that request, and replied: 'How could I do so, and thus incur everlasting curses on myself? Not only God Almighty, but even the very people of the Moscovite state, would not suffer me for so doing; and the earth would not bear me! I am sent here by government with a petition, and the first temptation seduces me. According to Christ's own words: "It were better that a millstone were tied about my neck, and that I were cast into the sea!" We were sent here to the king's majesty, and not to think of ourselves but of all Moscow.'

CHAPTER LII

CONDUCT OF SALTIKOV AND OF ANDRONOV IN MOSCOW—INSURRECTION AGAINST VLADISLAV IN EASTERN TOWNS—DEATH OF THE SECOND FALSE DMITRI, DECEMBER 11, 1610

BUT not all thought as Tomeela Loogooski. Prince Mstislavski accepted the rank of equerry from the king. Others wrote humble letters to the chancellor of Lithuania, Leo Sapieha, begging him to intercede for them with Sigismund. Many themselves went to him before Smolensk to ask favours. Till our own times not a few of Sigismund's documents have been preserved. In them he grants land, rank, and position to several Russians. Thus did the temporary government of Moscow tacitly agree that the king should be nominated sovereign till Vladislav's arrival. The greater part of the boyards confined themselves to that step alone. Not so, however, Michael Glibovitch Saltikov. He openly declared that not Vladislav but Sigismund should be declared sovereign. Notwithstanding, Saltikov alone could not do much. Besides, at the camp in

Smolensk it was considered profitable to receive persons from Toosheeno, ready for anything, only to quit the crowd. The most prominent of such was Feodor Andronov, with whom we are already acquainted. He so wormed himself into the favour of the king, that the latter ordered the Moscovite boyards to make Andronov state treasurer. In that new position Andronov faithfully served Sigismund, and unconditionally granted all the demands of Gonsievski. The best articles from the imperial treasury were sent to the king. Some, also, Gonsievski took for himself. Andronov likewise strove that the chief places in administration should be occupied by his Toosheeno associates.

As might have been expected, the Moscovite boyards were highly incensed on seeing a low commercial peasant like Andronov occupying the important post of state treasurer, and seated beside them in the council. They were especially indignant when Andronov dared to oppose Mstislavski, the chief boyarine, and others, too, such as Voroteenski, etc. Andronov, moreover, administered all according to his own fashion, and possessed the complete confidence of the king and Gonsievski. But if the oldest boyards were thus offended, not less so was Saltikov. For after all his devotion to the royal cause he fully expected to enact a prominent part, but was finally reduced to share power with a man of low degree. Accordingly, a keen competition began among these persons. They forthwith took denunciations against each other to the chancellor, Leo Sapieha. Each, of course, praised himself—his zeal for the royal cause, his desire to aid Sigismund in future. Saltikov thus wrote to Sapieha: ‘Let the king come to Moscow without delay, and raise the report that he will march against the Robber of Toosheeno! When Sigismund reaches Mojaisk, write immediately to me, and I shall arrange affairs that both boyards and people will do homage to Sigismund. Beg him to come to Moscow to rid his son of enemies, as well as to march against the impostor!’ But Saltikov met with strong opposition from the patriarch, who watched over the interests of the church, and in no wise wished to see Sigismund in Moscow. The people also took the patriarch’s part, and the clearer Sigismund’s designs became, the stronger did the agitation in the pretender’s favour appear. On suspicion of holding intercourse with him, the Poles placed under guard Prince André Golitzine (brother of Vasili Vasilievitch), as well as Ivan Michaelovitch Voroteenski and Zasiékine. Kazane and Viatka openly swore allegiance to the impostor, and sent documents to other towns urging them to do the same. In fact, some towns swore allegiance to the false Dmitri when he was no longer alive. For, on the 11th of December, he was killed by an individual near his person—a Christianised Tartar, Peter Ooroosov—in order to avenge the death of a Tartar prince of Kaseemov, whom the impostor

had ordered to be killed. Ooroosov thereupon fled to the Crimea. The inhabitants of Kalooga, on hearing what had occurred, were filled with indignation. They vowed revenge, and, without distinction, put to death all suspected of having participated in the impostor's murder. Then his remains were committed with honour to the tomb, and had a sumptuous funeral. Subsequently, his son Ivan was proclaimed sovereign. Ivan Zarootzki, chief of the Don Cossacks, thereupon declared himself the greatest defender of Mareena and her infant son.

CHAPTER LIII

FIRST GENERAL INSURRECTION AGAINST THE POLES, MARCH 19, 1611

THE impostor's death changed the current of passing events. The adherents of Sigismund had henceforth no pretext for urging his entrance into the Moscovite state. As for many others, who had merely consented to acknowledge Prince Vladislav sovereign in order to avoid swearing allegiance to the Robber of Toosheeno, they were now freed from that dread, and began to act openly against the Poles. When it became known in Moscow that the impostor was no more, a large party of the best Russians urged each other to join in a general movement against Sigismund, and to expell his subjects from Russia. One of the first to favour this measure was Liapoonov of Riazane, a nobleman of the council. Town after town also followed this example. Smolensk was amongst the first which did so, as it was devastated by the Poles. The inhabitants of Smolensk wrote that they had submitted to Sigismund in order to preserve their religion inviolate, and to avoid certain ruin; but that submission had not produced the desired effect. Their districts were ruined and their religion despised. When this document was received in Moscow, its inhabitants sent intimations to various districts concerning the general state of affairs. Thus many belonging to all classes hastened to join the popular movement against the Poles. Russian citizens subscribed funds to maintain those in service.

CHAPTER LIV

REASONS WHY THE FIRST ARMAMENT PROVED A FAILURE—THE POLES SET FIRE TO MOSCOW, MARCH 19, 1611

BUT although the desire to rid Russia of foreigners was universal, and although the armament against them was undertaken with much zeal, it did not succeed, chiefly because its commander was Liapoonov. He was a man of ardent passions,

and could not sacrifice his own personal concerns for the public good. Raised to an elevated position, during the whirl of the troublous times, and earnestly desiring to possess the highest place, Liapoonov detested those who stood in his way, who prided themselves on previous distinction, or on illustrious ancestors. When Liapoonov became chief of the armament, he not only avoided making any concession whatsoever to individuals of distinguished birth, but he even took pleasure in humiliating them. In their presence he boasted of his new position; and, for that very reason, excited indignation, enmity, and revolt. Another still more important reason why the first armament proved a failure was that Liapoonov, already by no means scrupulous concerning the means he employed, hoped to aid the general popular movement by stretching forth a hand to the enemies of all order, and who, in fact, lived by revolt, *i.e.* the Cossacks. The latter joined Liapoonov's force in great numbers. They included Cossacks who had been under command of Ivan Zarootzki, Prosovetzki, Prince Dmitri Timofeevitch Troobetzkoï, all the Toosheeno boyards and voevodes. In fact, Troobetzkoï and Zarootzki invited thence Cossacks, and promised serfs liberty and wages.

Meanwhile, boyards and Cossacks were hastening to Moscow with one aim. Saltikov and his associates proposed to the boyards that they should beg the king to send Prince Vladislav to Moscow, and also to write to the chief ambassadors, Philaret and Prince Golitzine, that they should entirely submit to the king and to Liapoonov, in order not to occasion a revolt. The boyards agreed to do so, but not the patriarch Hermogenes. 'To submit to the king,' said Hermogenes, 'is to swear allegiance to Sigismund himself, not to Vladislav; and such a document I neither warrant you to write, nor do I bless it! As for Procopius Liapoonov, I shall write to him that if the young prince does not reign in the Moscovite state, and does not come there, if he does not embrace the Russo-Greek faith, if the Poles do not quit Moscow, then I give my blessing to all those who assemble before the walls of Moscow to fight and to die for their own religion!' Whereupon Saltikov was so incensed that he raised a knife before Hermogenes. But the patriarch only replied: 'Let the sign of the cross ward off thine accursed knife; and be thou condemned in this world and in the next!' In this wise the document stating complete submission to the king's will was only signed by the boyards, but not by the patriarch. Philaret and Prince Golitzine accordingly refused to comply with the request, or rather the order, they had received. 'We were sent,' said they, 'by the patriarch, the boyards, and all the people of the Moscovite state, not by the boyards alone. At present we have no sovereign, and our patriarch occupies a position of command. Now, it is unsuitable to decide any important affair without him.'

On seeing the inflexibility of Hermogenes, the Poles placed him under a strict guard, and allowed no one to go near him. All Russians in Moscow were forbidden to bear arms, while the Poles themselves, foreseeing a siege, were fully armed. On March 19, on Tuesday of Passion week, the Poles began to force March 19, carters to drag cannons to a tower. The carters, however, refused to do so, 1611. whereupon disputes and cries began. Some Germans in the Polish service, thinking that an insurrection had broken out, began to beat the Russians. At last the Poles followed the example of the Germans. A frightful slaughter of the unarmed people then ensued, in a part of Moscow still called 'the Chinese town,' where alone seven thousand individuals perished. In other localities of Moscow, however, the people had time to arm themselves, and repulsed the enemy. In this they were powerfully aided by Prince Dmitri Michaelovitch Pojarski, famed during Shooiski's reign for a gallant defence of Zaraisk (government of Riazane) against the false Dmitri. Pursued on every side by the exasperated people, the Poles set fire to Moscow, and the whole city was soon a raging sea of flames. But the Poles did not long triumph amid the ruins and ashes of the capital. On March 25, Monday of Easter week, Liapoonov's armament, along with Zarootzki and other vovodes, amounting in all to 100,000 men, advanced towards Moscow, and besieged the enemy. Very soon the latter became reduced to the greatest straits for want of provisions.

CHAPTER LV

IMPRISONMENT OF PHILARET AND OF PRINCE GOLITZINE, 1611

MEANWHILE, before Smolensk, the Polish nobles urged Philaret and Prince Golitzine to let Poles enter that city. The ambassadors, however, refused to do so. On April 12 they were accordingly seized, robbed, and sent as captives to Marienburg in Prussia. On June 3 Smolensk was taken by assault after a 1611, June 3 heroic defence by its inhabitants, which called forth the admiration even of their —Smolensk enemies themselves. The Russian vovode Shein was put to the most hideous taken by assault. tortures, and sent enchained to Lithuania. In that country, and also in Poland, the joy was great at the taking of Smolensk; for it was believed that the war would then terminate. The Poles, however, forgot that in Moscow there was but a handful of their countrymen, besieged by an exasperated people. Instead of sending them help, Sigismund ordered his armies to be disbanded, while he himself went to the Diet in Warsaw. There also were taken Vasili Shooiski and his brother. In this wise the citizens of Warsaw witnessed a hitherto unseen

spectacle, namely, a captive ex-sovereign of Russia figuring in a triumphal entrance into the Polish capital. The Shooiskies were then imprisoned in the castle of Gosteen, where Vasili Ioannovitch and his brother soon died.

Many years afterwards¹ the remains of Vasili Shooiski were exhumed and transported to Moscow. There they were interred in the Cathedral of the Archangel Michael (at the Kreml), along with those of other royal princes. Shooiski's tomb is still in perfect preservation. According to Karamzine, 'Vasili Ioannovitch Shooiski was a heartless, godless time-server. The one good act of his life was the transporting of little Prince Dmitri's remains to Moscow; and that act was rewarded in a remarkable manner. For Shooiski's own ashes, after first reposing in foreign soil, were finally removed to the land of his fathers.'

CHAPTER LVI

DEATH OF LIAPOONOV—TAKING OF NOVGOROD BY THE SWEDES—APPEARANCE OF A THIRD IMPOSTOR

1611.

BESIEGED in Moscow, the Poles remained helpless, and were only saved by discord which reigned in the camp of the besiegers. According to contemporaries, 'On June 3, 1611, the Moscovite state, and those in service, chose as voevodes Prince Dmitri Timofeevitch Troobetzkoï, Ivan Marteenovitch Zarootzki, and a nobleman of the council, Procopius Petrovitch Liapoonov, so that they might administer the country and military affairs. And, if they would not do so, then all the country would change them and appoint others for administration.' But, unfortunately, among those three elected administrators there was great hatred and pride. Not one wished to yield to another, but each sought to rule alone. Liapoonov reproached Troobetzkoï and Zarootzki because they had been at Toosheeno, while his arrogance towards the nobles was unbearable. Not only the so-called 'boyards' children' (or militia of princes and nobles), but even the elder boyards themselves, were forced to bow down before him. They used to wait long before the peasant's hut he inhabited. None, in fact, were directly admitted to him. Besides, Liapoonov was excessively cruel to the Cossacks, and therefore he was generally detested. And that hatred Gonsievski made use of to ruin Liapoonov, who was more dangerous than any other voevode because he was a nobleman, not a Cossack, and, as a man, he was one who surpassed his associates in ability and energy. During one of the frequent skirmishes which then occurred, the Poles took prisoner a Don Cossack, friend of the ataman Zavarzine. Zavarzine did all

¹ In 1635, during the reign of Michael Feodorovitch Romanov.

in his power to liberate his associate; and, for that purpose, obtained permission from Gonsievski to visit and speak to the prisoner. Gonsievski made use of the circumstance, and, in Liapoonov's name, wrote an intimation to all the town, 'that whenever a Cossack was caught, he should be beaten and drowned.' Liapoonov's writing was skilfully copied in the intimation, which the Cossack prisoner gave to Zavarzine. The latter, on returning to the camp, showed the intimation to the Cossacks. They, according to their usual habit, assembled in a body. They next summoned Liapoonov, and, with shouts, proclaimed him a traitor. Liapoonov stoutly maintained that he had not written the intimation. Thereupon a violent dispute ensued. It terminated by Liapoonov's death from Cossack swords. They also slew Ivan Nikititch Rjevski, who was a great enemy of Liapoonov, but, notwithstanding, took his part on seeing him unjustly accused. So the two died together.

After Liapoonov's death the nobles were without a leader, and were in the power of the Cossacks. Many of the former were very cruelly treated. They were beaten and even mutilated. Others dispersed. Some actually bought from Zarootzki the rank of voevode, or other positions, and went to towns to make up for what they had spent. The Cossacks, too, did not remain inactive, but roved about, plundering and killing not a few victims.

At this period, while the Cossacks had hindered the armament before Moscow, by the murder of Liapoonov, and also by driving away the best nobles, Novgorod the Great fell into the hands of the Swedes. After the engagement of Kloosheeno, De la Gardie and his detachment moved towards the north-west, and when Moscow swore allegiance to the Swedish king's enemy, Prince Vladislav of Poland, De la Gardie began to act against the Russians and to take their towns. But when the insurrection against Vladislav and the Poles took place, the commanders of the armament renewed intercourse with Sweden; and there was even question of a son of Charles IX. being chosen to reign in Russia. But the conferences were protracted. The Swedes, like the Poles, demanded money and towns. Meanwhile, in Novgorod, quarrels and sedition took place, which gave De la Gardie the hope of taking the city, and his hope was realised. During the night of July 16, a traitor secretly showed the Swedes the way into the town, so that no one saw them enter it. There was no general opposition; and the heroic resistance of private individuals did not avail. At one spot strong opposition was offered by Gaiootine, chief of the Strelitz, a secretary named Goleneeshev, Orlov, and a Cossack ataman Sharov, with forty Cossacks. They maintained their ground till they were cut to pieces. Amos, archbishop of the Sophia cathedral, also perished in the flames along with his associates. Meanwhile, the voevode

Bootoorline, standing with troops in one part of the city, plundered the inhabitants and then withdrew from the town. Thus Novgorod submitted to the Swedes, on condition that a Swedish prince should reign in Russia. The Russians likewise promised to submit directly to the Swedish king himself.

Thus the Swedes were in Novgorod. In the districts of Pskov there appeared a third impostor—a would-be Dmitri, to whom we have already alluded. The Moscovite armament, under Troobetzkoï and Zarootzki, prolonged the siege of the capital. Skirmishes took place with varying success. The Lithuanian hetman Hodkievitch, who came in autumn to help the besieged, could do but little; for although he had a force of two thousand men, discord reigned among them. The Russian boyards, shut up in the Kreml along with the besieged Poles, saw that only the arrival of the king, or of his son, with troops could save them. The boyards accordingly sent a new embassy to Sigismund. The chief ambassadors were Prince Youree Nikititch Troobetzkoï and Michael Gliebovitch Saltikov, both ready to grant all the king's demands. But the Russians in various districts awaited safety neither from King Sigismund nor from the Cossacks. Liapoonov's death had opened the eyes of many as to Cossack aid. Accordingly the inhabitants of Kazane wrote to those of Perm in the following terms: 'Before Moscow that defender of the Christian faith, Procopius Liapoonov, was killed by the Cossacks. Since, we have resolved to stand firmly and to do no harm to each other, not to let Cossacks enter the town—to be agreed on that point till God grants a sovereign to the Moscovite state—to elect a monarch chosen by all the country, and not to acknowledge one chosen by the Cossacks alone.'

CHAPTER LVII

DOCUMENT OF THE TRINITY CLOISTER

IN this wise Liapoonov's death did not drive the people to despair; for, as before, their attention was directed to one great aim, namely, to become united in order to maintain their religion. Previously, the voice which had loudest proclaimed this important point was that of the saintly patriarch Hermogenes. But alas! that voice was now no longer heard from a dungeon of the Kreml. However, instead of the patriarch's document, another was issued by the authorities of the Trinity Sergius monastery, near Moscow. We allude to the archimandrite Dionysius and the cellarist Abraham Palitzine.¹ Humble and

¹ Soloviev calls Abraham Palitzine 'the good cellarist of the Trinity cloister, who likes so much to talk of himself.'

yielding when anything regarded himself, Dionysius was, notwithstanding, the first to step forward and to show remarkable firmness if the public good was concerned, or if suffering could be relieved. When Moscow was devastated, and when the Cossacks roved about in its districts like enraged wild animals, a whole crowd of fugitives in rags, overcome with fatigue and suffering from burns, wended their steps towards the Trinity cloister. The appearance of these wretched, outcast, despairing persons overwhelmed the monks, the servants, and peasants of the cloister, so that they did not know what to do. But Dionysius encouraged them to grant needful aid to the unhappy. Indeed, the monastery actually became a hospital, an almshouse; while in the archimandrite's cell were seated writers, whose pens speedily traced admonitory, edifying epistles to towns and to armies, urging all to unite in clearing their native country of enemies.

CHAPTER LVIII

MININE AND POJARSKI, 1611

IN October, 1611, a document from the Trinity cloister appeared in Nijni-Novgorod. The arch-priest read it aloud in the church, before the assembled people. While listening to the exhortations, all were filled with emotion. Then the Zemski (rural) starost, Kozma (Cosmos) Minitch Soohorooki, better known as simply Minine, a butcher by trade, began to exhort his townsmen to unite in upholding their religion and in saving the Moscovite state. 'Let us spare nothing!' exclaimed he. 'Let us sell our houses! Let us pledge our wives and children, in order to collect funds to pay troops!' His words pleased the Nijni-Novgorodians, and they forthwith began to organise troops. But it was previously necessary to find a voevode. Minine immediately suggested Prince Dmitri Michaelovitch Pojarski, who was then living at his estate in the districts of Souzdal, and was being cured of wounds he had received while fighting against the Poles. Pojarski agreed to the proposal of the Nijni-Novgorodians. He, however, demanded that a suitable person should be found to administer the funds collected, and, in turn, proposed Minine, who was forthwith elected.

From all directions persons in service assembled in Nijni-Novgorod, whenever news spread of the armament there. Many towns also sent troops and money. A powerful force was accordingly soon formed, which moved onwards to liberate the capital. During this interval, Pojarski's enterprise greatly alarmed the Poles and Russian traitors still in Moscow. The latter demanded that the patriarch

Hermogenes should urge the expedition to turn backwards. But Hermogenes, on the contrary, replied by blessing the armament, and by cursing traitors. Then

17th February
1612.

his exasperated enemies, it is said, starved him to death.

The Cossacks who remained before Moscow, and who had already sworn allegiance to the false Dmitri in Pskov, made some attempts to oppose the eastern armament by open force. But when these attempts failed, Zarootzki sent a murderer; and in Yaroslavl, where Pojarski remained some time with the chief army, one Cossack endeavoured to hit him with a knife, but missed his aim and wounded another man.

CHAPTER LIX

POJARSKI IN MOSCOW, 1612

It is comprehensible with what feelings Pojarski and his followers set out to Moscow, when among would-be allies murderers were to be found. Fortunately, however, the number of Cossacks before the capital had much diminished. Zarootski, with his Cossack gang, quitted the camp in Kolomna, took with him Mareena and her little son Ivan, child of 'the Toosheeno Robber,' and went towards the south-east to the steppes, the convenient dwelling-place of Cossacks and impostors.

1612.

In different parts of Moscow the number of Poles had also greatly diminished. Many of them voluntarily quitted service and went back to their own country. Gonsievski, too, went away, and his place was taken as commander by Stroos. But, on the other hand, the hetman Hodkevitch was marching towards Moscow. Pojarski, however, anticipated him, and on August 18 advanced to the capital. Troobetzkoï, with the Cossacks, demanded that the new army should join them. But the military who came with Pojarski, remembering the fate of Liapoonov, distinctly replied: 'We will in no wise be together with the Cossacks.' On the evening of August 21, Hodkevitch also appeared before Moscow. In order to obstruct his way to the Kremlin, Russian troops stood on both banks of the river Moskva, Pojarski on the left, Troobetzkoï on the right. On August 22 the hetman attacked Pojarski, but was repulsed. On the 24th he moved along the right bank of the river towards the Kremlin. At the decisive moment, the Cossacks refused to fight, and withdrew to their camp. But Abraham Palitzine, cellarist of the Trinity cloister, persuaded them to do their duty. Then, thanks to the united efforts of nobles and Cossacks, but especially on account of a bold movement by Minine, with a reserve force, the action terminated in favour of the

Russians. Hodkevitch was defeated, and withdrew towards the Lithuanian frontiers, without being able to give provisions to the besieged.

CHAPTER LX

THE KREML CLEARED OF THE POLES—UNSUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION OF SIGISMUND AGAINST MOSCOW — MICHAEL FEODOROVITCH ROMANOV ELECTED SOVEREIGN OF RUSSIA, 21ST FEBRUARY 1613

ON October 22 the Cossacks made an assault and took a part of Moscow still called 'the Chinese town.' In the Kreml, the Poles still held out for a month, although they endured frightful hunger, which even forced them to eat the flesh of human bodies. Finally, the besieged surrendered on condition that their lives would be spared. First, noblemen were sent out of the Kreml, *i.e.* Princes Mstislavski and Voroteenski, as well as Ivan Nikititch Romanov, with his nephew Michael Feodorovitch. Then the Polish commander Stroos, with his associates, left; and, on November 27, the armament and the people in triumph entered the Kreml, at length cleared of the enemy.

Troobetzkoï and Pojarski, after the defeat of Hodkevitch, lived in harmony and administered affairs conjointly, because, unlike Liapoonov, Pojarski was remarkable for his modesty, and ceded the foremost place to Troobetzkoï as senior in rank at that epoch, although, according to Karamzine (vol. xii. note 335), Pojarski was of royal lineage, descended from Vsevolod III. in the sixth generation, and also from the Princes of Starodoob. Prince Vasili Andréévitch took the surname of Pojarski, because he had inherited a fort named Pojar, which had been destroyed by a fire, *nosicapr pojar* in Russ, during an invasion of the Tartars. Previous to that epoch, Pojar had been called Radogost.

In 1613 Troobetzkoï was a boyarine, and Prince Dmitri Michaelovitch Pojarski was Grand Master of the Table. But Troobetzkoï's Cossacks gave Pojarski's nobles no peace. The Cossacks drank and gambled away all they received. They were thus constantly poor. They continually demanded pay, and when it was refused they became quite excited. Then they would shout and even beat those in command. There was well-nigh a battle between these Cossacks and the nobles.

When the Kreml was cleared of the enemy, the military of the armament thought that all had terminated, and began to quit Moscow, when suddenly news came that King Sigismund himself was marching with an army against the capital. A panic then took place in Moscow; for there were neither sufficient troops nor provisions to maintain a siege. But the terror soon abated. The king

had only a small force, so small that he could not even take Volokolamsk (government of Moscow). Therefore he wended his way backwards to Poland. Accordingly, Sigismund's retreat gave the Russian people leisure to elect a sovereign. Documents were forthwith sent to different towns to summon members of various classes to Moscow, in order to decide this important question. When all had assembled, a fast of three days was proclaimed, after which a council was formed. Then ensued violent disputes, agitation, and strife. Each endeavoured to enforce his own opinions, and several nobles hoped themselves to obtain the throne.

There is a popular tradition that some of the best Russians at this epoch offered the crown to Prince Pojarski. But that magnanimous hero, as modest as he was brave, declined the unexpected honour thus put upon him. He declared that he had shed his blood for Russia from no ambitious motives, and suggested that a sovereign should be chosen in the person of Michael Romanov, then sixteen.

Finally, the last assembly of the people took place on February 21, 1613.

Each presented his opinions in writing, and the choice was unanimous in favour of Michael. Then several of the clergy and one boyarine went to the Lobnoi Miesto, or place of execution, and asked the crowd assembled in the adjacent Red or Beautiful Square whom they wished to reign over them. 'Michael Feodorovitch Romanov!' was the reply.

Soloviev states that so great was the disorder existing at that period in Russia, that the manifesto published to elect Michael to the throne added the words, 'wherever he now is,' as the members of the assembly actually did not know where he was. The young boyarine had then found shelter in the Ipatievski monastery at Kostroma, along with his mother, the recluse Marfa Ioannovna, born Ksenia Shestova. It is also stated by various authors that Marfa shed tears on hearing that her son was chosen to fill a throne already slippery with blood. Indeed, at first she would in no wise consent to the proposal, and Michael too refused it. At length, however, moved by the entreaties of the deputies sent to Michael, and also by the persuasion of the archbishop Theodorit, she gave her maternal blessing to her son, and consented to his election.

Karamzine mentions that, according to a popular tradition of the epoch, a prince named Michael was destined to succeed Vasili Shooiski. The latter, terrified at the prospect of being dethroned, and jealous of his reputed successor, caused no fewer than three Michaels to be put to death. A fourth, however, *i.e.* Michael Romanov, escaped Shooiski's vengeance.

1613, 21st
February—
Michael
Feodorovitch
Romanov
elected sove-
reign of
Russia.

CHAPTER LXI

REIGN OF MICHAEL FEODOROVITCH, FIRST OF THE DYNASTY OF ROMANOV, 1613-1645

—DEPUTATION SENT TO KOSTROMA—EXPLOIT OF IVAN SOOSANINE

WHEN the youthful Michael Feodorovitch Romanov was finally proclaimed 1613. sovereign of Russia, a deputation of distinguished clerical and lay individuals urged him to accept the crown and at once to appear in Moscow. On March 13 these ambassadors arrived in Kostroma. On March 14 a solemn procession, holding aloft crosses, wended its way to the Ipatievski monastery, where Michael and his mother, the recluse Marfa Ioannovna, had retired. The procession included the deputies and all the inhabitants of Kostroma. But on learning what had taken place, Marfa, without hesitation, replied: 'My son is still a minor. The Moscovites have degenerated, and have become treacherous. They first swore allegiance to Boris Godoonov, to the false Dmitries, to Vasili Shooiski, and then betrayed them. Besides, the state is entirely ruined. There is no longer any imperial treasury. The land is impoverished. Those in service are beggars. So, how can the future sovereign reward his subjects? How can he maintain his court? How can he oppose his enemies? Above all, the metropolitan Philaret is still a prisoner of the Polish king, who, on hearing of Michael's election, will vow vengeance on his father.'

And indeed Marfa's fears were by no means unfounded; for her son's election to the throne of Russia had taken place amid terrible political storms. Agitation and sedition were rife in the interior of the country, while outward enemies assumed a threatening aspect. It thus seemed that a youth of sixteen was unable to cope with obstacles so formidable, and that they could alone be overcome by an experienced sovereign of mature age. Providence, however, favoured Russia on this occasion as on many others.

The assembled deputies endeavoured to quiet all Marfa's fears, by reminding her that her son had been elected by general consent of all the people, which was not the case with regard to those who had recently occupied the throne. They, in fact, had done so by their own desire alone. Hence sedition and war had ensued. The deputies, moreover, added that if Marfa still opposed her son's election, total ruin to the state would ensue. Thus the mother's fears were overcome.

And, so far, the words of the deputies were true, that Michael had nothing to fear from the fate of his predecessors. For the Moscovites had been punished

on account of their discord, and resolved henceforth to act in unison. Terrible experience had but too clearly shown them to what misery sedition and civil war can lead. They thus resolved to uphold the new sovereign in spite of the material losses to which Marfa had alluded. In fact, during the memorable year of 1613, the best Russians were deeply impressed with the idea that all should be sacrificed to maintain the newly-elected prince on the throne. This we especially learn from the never-to-be-forgotten exploit of Ivan Soosanine.

When Michael Romanov had quitted Moscow after the surrender of the Kreml, and was living at Kostroma, a detachment of the enemy, on learning that the young nobleman had been elected sovereign, endeavoured to put him to death as the rival of Vladislav. Soloviev (vol. ix. p. 10) states that Poles are generally said to have formed this detachment. But as no Poles any longer remained there, the murderers were more probably robber Cossacks. Be that as it may, however, while trying to seize Michael's person, they arrested a peasant named Ivan Soosanine, from the districts of Kostroma and the village of Domneeno, belonging to the Romanovs. Poor Soosanine was thereupon put to the most hideous tortures in order to make him tell where Michael was. Michael was in Kostroma, and Soosanine knew that. Yet, amid his sufferings, he had courage enough to confess nothing, and so was put to a cruel death.

CHAPTER LXII

CORONATION OF MICHAEL, 11TH JULY 1613—WAR WITH ZAROOTZKI

May 2—July
11, 1613.

ON May 2 Michael set out for Moscow, and on July 11 he was solemnly crowned. On the same day, Prince Dmitri Michaelovitch Pojarski was created a boyarine, and on the day following, the sovereign's name's-day, Cosmos Minine was promoted to the position of a nobleman of the council. But alas! Michael Romanov could offer no costly gifts, or grant privileges to his subjects on the occasion of his solemn coronation; for all was in a state of disorder. The military complained that their hereditary estates and other property had been ruined by protracted war. No stores of corn were in the granaries. The imperial coffers were empty. Thus nothing remained to pay those in service. Accordingly, Michael and the clergy issued documents to various towns, imploring their inhabitants to aid the state in this its hour of need. Meanwhile, as if to complicate misfortunes, Russia had still to wage war with outward and inward enemies. Zarootzki, along with Mareena and her son, had established themselves in Astrachan. There they held intercourse with the Shah of Persia, and assembled

around themselves a number of Cossacks and Tartars. The old Cossacks, however, at length experienced that they had actually waded in Christian blood. They therefore wished to repent and to serve the state; while the younger, 'desiring to obtain an over-all,' as they expressed themselves, followed Zarootzki. However, his excessive cruelty soon exasperated the inhabitants of Astrachan; so they rose in arms against him. He was thus obliged to shut himself up in the Kreml or fort of the city. The towns along the Terek also revolted against Zarootzki, and the voevode there sent troops under the command of Hochtov to aid the inhabitants of Astrachan. From Moscow, too, a commander, Prince Odoevski, marched at the head of a large force. Zarootzki, however, did not wait for Odoevski's arrival, but quitted Astrachan. Hochlov thereupon attacked and completely defeated the Cossack chief. Then Zarootzki fled towards the river Ural. In one of its islands he was overtaken by Odoevski's Strelitz, who forced him to surrender, June 3, 1614. Orders were next given to kill the prisoners if they attempted to escape. They were finally taken to Moscow. Zarootzki was impaled. Mareena's son was hanged; while she herself, according to Moscow annals, died of grief in prison, or, according to Polish authorities, she was drowned or strangled. Soloviev (vol. ix. p. 30) calls Mareena 'Zarootski's wife.' 'In Astrachan,' says the same author, Zarootzki called himself Dmitri. From the year 1614 there has been preserved, till our own times, a curious petition addressed 'To the sovereign Dmitri Ioannovitch, to the Czarine Mareena Yourievna, and to the Czarevitch Ivan Dmitrievitch.'

CHAPTER LXIII

WAR WITH THE COSSACKS—DEVASTATION OF RUSSIA

THE Russians thus got quit of Zarootski, and Astrachan was tranquil. Notwithstanding, the Cossacks still remained in the interior of the country. There was indeed scarcely a district which did not suffer from their devastation. In fact, annalists declare that in ancient times no such scourge had appeared. One Cossack ataman Batoven was especially famous.

On September 1, 1614, in a council, Michael Feodorovitch intimated all the excesses committed by the Cossacks, how they had put many to death by frightful tortures, prevented imports from being collected, and thus robbed the state treasury, etc. Michael finally put the question, 'What was to be done?' Whereupon the assembled boyards, clergy, and others resolved to send the arch-priest of Souzdal and a boyarine, Prince Leekov, to the Cossacks, in order to

admonish them, and to urge them to quit their evil ways. It was furthermore determined that if the Cossacks heeded no exhortation, then Prince Leekov was to march against them with a large force. Soon Prince Leekov intimated that no exhortation availed. Not only so; the Cossacks were preparing to attack Moscow itself; and, sure enough, this was the case. But they were met and completely defeated by Prince Leekov.

We have already alluded to the devastation which, at this epoch, prevailed in Russia. Ilovaiski (p. 170) quotes the narration of a Dutch ambassador, then travelling in the north-western regions of Russia during November 1615, and from which we have details of the ruin occasioned by the robber Cossacks and followers of the famous Lithuanian horseman, Leesovski.

On the road from Revel to Novgorod the Dutch nowhere found any village. They were nearly always obliged to pass the night in a forest, and very seldom met with a half-ruined monastery. In Novgorod the embassy rested a little, and continued its way through Staraja Roosa. But on that road the most terrible privation was experienced. Several times, while crossing rivers, the ice broke, so that men, horses, and baggage fell into the water. In order to dry dripping clothes, the travellers were forced to set fire to half-ruined cottages along the way. Sometimes the Dutch spent the night in depopulated villages; but, before entering a cottage, they were obliged to drag out of it bodies of former inhabitants, killed by the Cossacks. Soon, however, the terrible smell of decomposition forced the travellers out of the cottage, and made them sleep in the open air during hard frost. Furthermore the Dutch were constantly alarmed by bears, wolves, and the followers of Leesovski.

CHAPTER LXIV

WAR AND UNSUCCESSFUL INTERCOURSE WITH POLAND—INTERCOURSE WITH AUSTRIA

BUT, besides the Cossacks, it was also necessary to get quit of the Lithuanians. The imperial voevodes had unsuccessfully besieged Smolensk. Prince Pojarski had marched against Leesovski, who still devastated the south-western frontiers of Russia. But Pojarski was overcome by fatigue while pursuing the most indefatigable of horsemen, and was attacked by severe illness. Leesovski had thus time to devastate all at leisure. With the same miraculous swiftness, Little Russian Cossacks roved about in the far north and ruined the districts of the Dvina, but were soon destroyed by the inhabitants there. During this interval,

while war was going on, fruitless conferences took place with Poland concerning peace. In September 1615 Russian plenipotentiaries, the boyards Princes Ivan Voroteenski and Alexei Seetzki, were sent towards the Lithuanian frontiers to meet Polish ambassadors, individuals already known, *i.e.* the hetman Hodkevitch, the chancellor Leo Sapieha, and Alexander Gonsievski. The mediator between the two parties was the German emperor's ambassador, Gandelius, a Slavonian by birth. But these conferences, accompanied by many reproaches and by much self-justification, led to no favourable result. 'For,' as Gandelius said, while addressing the Moscovite ambassadors, 'you name your own sovereign, and the Poles declare that he is the son of their king. Thus, in one state, there are two sovereigns. So you are between fire and water. How can you reconcile them?' And, sure enough, fire did not make peace with water. Accordingly, the plenipotentiaries separated. Gandelius could do nothing; and indeed we see that he did not wish to act. In general, intercourse between Michael and the Austrian court had not its previous friendly characteristics. For Austria was allied by relationship and by friendship to Sigismund of Poland, and therefore assumed another tone towards the ruined Moscovite state, no longer able as before to send costly furs to Vienna. Moreover, it was there supposed that the newly-elected sovereign would not long maintain his position on the throne after recent sedition. For these reasons it was that the Austrians did not consider him as they had considered his predecessors. Michael, too, was unwilling to derogate. In this wise, intercourse between the courts of Vienna and Moscow was speedily terminated.

CHAPTER LXV

INTERCOURSE WITH TURKEY—WAR AND PEACE WITH SWEDEN

INTERCOURSE between Moscow and Turkey was, however, much more cordial. For the latter country was constantly at war with Poland concerning inroads of the Zaporog Cossacks, and therefore was the material ally of Moscow. Notwithstanding, the amicable conferences of the Moscovite ambassador at Constantinople were continually interrupted by the Don Cossacks, who, like the Zaporogs, and indeed along with them, from the sea attacked Turkish possessions. Accordingly, the Sultan, considering the Don Cossacks as subjects of the Moscovite state, was incensed against it.

But there were no obstacles to friendly intercourse with Persia. Therefore, 1617. Shah Abbas the Great, towards the close of 1617, sent Michael silver in bars

amounting to 7000 roubles. Moscow likewise obtained the friendship of England and Holland. But that friendship was of course prompted by their own interest. For recent sedition in the Moscovite state, its subsequent devastation, as well as war with Poland and Sweden, had ruined trade. England and Holland accordingly desired to restore tranquillity in Moscow; and as a reward for so doing, to obtain greater commercial privileges. In order to accomplish these projects, there came to Moscow, in August 1614, an English merchant already known there. We allude to John Merik. Latterly he was promoted to the post of ambassador, and proposed his mediation as peacemaker between Moscow and Sweden. Thereupon he likewise demanded extensive trade for the English, and also that they should be permitted to sail by the Volga to Persia, and by the river Obi to India. In reply, he was forthwith informed that Michael had already granted English merchants permission to trade freely in his dominions without paying duty; and, as far as privileges were concerned, they would become subjects of conference when affairs with Sweden were terminated. Merik then went to Novgorod, which, as we have already seen, had submitted to the Swedes on condition that one of their princes should be its sovereign. Meanwhile, Charles IX. died, and in June 1613 his successor, Gustavus Adolphus, intimated to the Novgorodians that his brother Charles Philip had gone to Viborg. There, plenipotentiaries from Novgorod and from all the Russian state were awaited in order to elect Charles Philip as sovereign. But the Russians had already chosen Michael Romanov. Consequently, no plenipotentiaries appeared at Viborg. Charles Philip did not wish to reign there alone; and Gustavus Adolphus next declared to the Novgorodians that they should swear allegiance directly to himself. The Novgorodians, however, would not do so. Time meanwhile passed. The citizens were greatly harassed, and were loaded with imposts by the Swedes. During this interval, hostilities were already going on between the Swedes and the Moscovite forces. The Russians, however, had no success in the open field. De la Gardie pressed Prince Dmitri Timoféevitch Troobetzkoï out of Bronnitz, where the Russians lost many men. Gustavus Adolphus himself then took Gdov, and in 1615 besieged Pskov, which, however, he could not take. The king, notwithstanding, earnestly desired peace. He feared the kings of Poland and Denmark, as well as internal sedition. He was, moreover, in great want of money. In Moscow, peace was also much desired.

1614.

1615.

1616.

Peace of
Stolbov, 1617.

Conferences therefore began in January, 1616, at a small village named Dederine, by mediation of John Merik and Dutch ambassadors. But the contending parties could not come to terms. However, permanent peace was eventually concluded at Stolbov, a village between Tichvine and Ladoga, by

mediation of Merik alone. The Swedes then promised to restore to Michael, Novgorod and several other towns, but retained Ivan-Gorod (*i.e.* John's Town), Iam, Koporié, and Oreshek. Besides, they were to receive the sum of 20,000 roubles from the Russians. Sweden also retained for itself the Gulf of Finland. Thus were the Russians completely cut off from the Baltic Sea. Gustavus Adolphus was greatly pleased thereby. 'Russia is no longer a dangerous neighbour,' said he, in his speech to Swedish statesmen. 'Now we are separated from it by the great lakes of Ladoga and Peipus, thirty miles of wide marshes and strong forts. Thank God! Russia is cut off from the Baltic Sea; and there is hope that it will be difficult for the Russians to spring across that streamlet!'

As a reward for Merik's intercession regarding the peace of Stolbov, he received many valuable presents, and, among them, a gold chain with Michael's portrait.

CHAPTER LXVI

WAR WITH POLAND, AND THE TRUCE OF DEOLINE, 1617

MICHAEL hastened to make peace with Sweden, because he was obliged to assemble 1617. all his forces against a still more powerful enemy, or, in other words, Poland. In 1617 Prince Vladislav, along with the hetman Hodkevitch, marched against Moscow. Terror then took possession of all the Moscovite voevodes, when they learned that the prince himself accompanied the army. The commander of Dorogobooj (government of Smolensk) surrendered to Vladislav, as sovereign of Moscow. Viazma was also abandoned by its voevode and taken. These two faint-hearted commanders fled to Moscow, where severe punishment awaited them. First, they were flogged with the knout, then deprived of their estates, and finally exiled to Siberia. Kalooga, however, did not surrender, for it was defended by the brave Prince Dmitri Michaelovitch Pojarski. During 1617 and the 1617-1618. greater part of 1618, time passed without any important acts on either side. Only in September 1618 Vladislav decided on marching directly to Moscow. Whereupon Michael summoned a council of boyards, clergy, and individuals in service. One and all resolved to be united and to die for their sovereign, their religion, and their native country. Necessary preparations were then made. Different defenders of Moscow were appointed. Documents were again dispersed to various towns, to beg their help in this extremity.

But not Vladislav alone was marching against Moscow. It was also threatened

from the south by the Little Russian hetman Konashevitch Sagaidatchni, who, on his way, devastated several towns. On September 25 Vladislav entered the famous village of Toosheeno. Sagaidatchni joined him, and, during the night of October 1, the Poles attacked Moscow. They, however, were repulsed at two streets of the city, still called the Arbat and the Tverskoi gates.

A truce of fourteen years and six months was eventually concluded at Deoline, or Sviatkov (near the Sviati, *i.e.* Holy Trinity cloister, in the vicinity of Moscow). By this truce, Moscow ceded Smolensk and the lands of Sieversk to Poland. Moreover, Vladislav did not renounce his claims to the Moscovite throne. The plenipotentiaries, in fact, left that affair to the judgment of God. In June 1619 an exchange of prisoners took place near Viazma, on the river Polianovka. Among others, the Poles returned the metropolitan Philaret Nikititch, the boyarine Shein, Tomeelo Loogooski, etc. Prince Vasili Vasilievitch Golitzine had died on the way to Grodno, 1619. When Philaret returned to Moscow, he was consecrated as patriarch.

CHAPTER LXVII

THE PATRIARCH PHILARET AND HIS POSITION—MICHAEL'S MARRIAGE, 1623-1624

ON Philaret's return, a double power existed in the Moscovite state. All documents were signed by two great sovereigns, *i.e.* Michael Feodorovitch and his father, the patriarch Philaret Nikititch. All documents were presented to both sovereigns; both decided all important questions. Foreign ambassadors were presented to both together; a double copy of any deed was given; double gifts were offered. Indeed, although Michael's name figured before that of his father in state documents, notwithstanding, the firm, energetic Philaret had a powerful sway over the youthful, inexperienced, naturally gentle Michael. Until the return of Philaret, these very qualities of his son had been completely abused by individuals quite unworthy to be near the throne. Such, for example, were two brothers Saltikov, Boris and Michael, who, according to the expression of the epoch, 'only thought how to seize all the wealth of the land for themselves and their own nations, acted unjustly, made traffic of the sovereign's favour, arranged so that his mercy should be obtained only by themselves, not by others.'

Of course, Philaret Nikititch, like other highly-placed individuals, had both friends and enemies. The former rejoiced at his return; the latter dreaded it. 'Hence the singular difference of opinion contemporaries entertain of him,' says Soloviev (vol. ix. p. 152). 'According to some,' continues the same author,

‘Philaret was an upright, God-fearing man; according to others, he was quarrelsome, suspicious, and so despotic that his own son constantly dreaded him.’

Soon one great solicitude of Philaret was to find a suitable consort for Michael. ‘The choice of the sovereign’s bride, at that remote epoch, was a most important event in Russia,’ says Ilovaiski (p. 177). ‘She was generally selected from among the daughters of noblemen or courtiers, and, along with her, all her relations, often hitherto utterly insignificant, came into near contact with the throne. For that very reason it was that the sovereign’s marriage seldom took place without many base intrigues.’ Already in 1616 a young person named Maria Ivanovna Hlopova had been selected as the future Czarine. According to the custom of the time, she was to change her name. She took that of Anastasia, probably in honour of Michael’s grand-aunt, the first consort of John the Terrible. But suddenly Michael was informed that Mary Hlopova had a dangerous, incurable illness. Whereupon she and her parents were sent in exile to Tobolsk. But when Philaret returned, the Hlopovs advanced nearer and nearer to Moscow. Subsequently, Philaret investigated the affair concerning the illness of Mary Hlopova. It was proved that she had been in perfect health till she went to court. There, according to her father’s testimony, the Saltikovs had poisoned her, by giving her some liquid for appetite, and bought from a druggist. Mary’s uncle, Gabriel Hlopov, maintained that his niece had become ill from eating too many sweetmeats. Thus the intrigues of the Saltikovs became evident. They were accordingly sent away in exile to different villages. Their mother was shut up in a monastery, their property was confiscated and taken by the crown, ‘because they had dared to disturb the sovereign’s happiness and to hinder his marriage,’ according to the expression of the times.

Notwithstanding, Michael did not, after all, marry Mary Hlopova, although she was proved to be in good health. It is said that the match was broken off because his mother was against it. The Hlopovs then continued to live in Nijni-Novgorod. ‘Only, henceforth, a double portion was allowed for their maintenance.’

Of course, the Saltikovs’ friends complained loudly of Philaret’s severity; while others rejoiced that at length the court was freed from these flatterers and intriguers.

Philaret then thought of uniting his son to a foreign princess. For that purpose, an embassy was sent to King Christian of Denmark, who then had two marriageable nieces. But the plan was finally abandoned. In 1623 another embassy was sent to Gustavus Adolphus, with proposals to arrange a marriage between Michael and Catherine, sister of George, elector of Brandenburg, brother-

in-law (wife's brother) of Gustavus. However, obstacles concerning the difference of religion prevented that scheme from being executed.

1623-1624.

At length Michael married a Russian princess, Mary Vladimirovna Dolgorookaia. But she died in 1625, or in 1624, according to some authors. 'She was spoiled by the evil eye,' as the superstitious of the epoch affirmed. Soon afterwards, Michael contracted a second union with Evdokeeia Lookianovna Streshneva, daughter of an insignificant courtier.

1624.

CHAPTER LXVIII

INTERCOURSE WITH SWEDEN, ENGLAND, AND FRANCE

As far as outward intercourse was concerned, to which Philaret Nikititch was obliged to pay special attention, it was first of all necessary to make presents to the Crimean khan. This was more than usually onerous to the Moscovite state, at an epoch when the public treasury was empty, after the war with Poland. It was also necessary to arrange affairs with the Nogai Tartars, who during the troublous times had been separated from Moscow. Prince Lvov, voevode of Astrachan, succeeded in bringing them under the imperial sway, and in liberating many Christian prisoners.

At this epoch Sweden showed great friendship for Russia. Gustavus Adolphus, while at war with Poland, and also engaged in a difficult struggle with Germany, tried to obtain Michael's favour, by endeavouring to prove to him that the Catholic union of the pope, the king of Poland, and the sovereigns of the Habsburg dynasty, not only threatened Protestant powers, but the Moscovite state also. 'For, if Papists conquer Sweden, they will next strive to eradicate the Greek faith,' wrote Gustavus to Michael. 'Finally, if we see a neighbouring house on fire, we must bring water to extinguish the flames, so that our own house should not burn also.'

Indeed, Swedish ambassadors in Moscow maintained that Gustavus Adolphus and his armies were the best guardians of Moscow, and upheld its cause in war with Germany. In consequence of the assurances of friendship, and of mutual interest, the Swedes were allowed to buy corn, rye, pitch, and saltpetre in Russia, free of duty. In 1631 there appeared, for the first time, a Swedish resident at the Moscovite court. The friendly intercourse of Sweden with Moscow resulted from the peace of Stolbov, which had been concluded by the mediation of England. But that was not all. During the campaign of Vladislav in Moscow, King James sent Michael a loan amounting to 20,000 roubles for military

1631.

expenses. Consequently, John Merik came a second time to Moscow, in 1620. 1620. Then he considered that he had a right to ask for a way to Persia by the Volga. Whereupon Michael summoned the chief Moscow merchants to a meeting, in order to solve the following question: 'If, in reality, English merchants were allowed to go by water to Persia, would that not occasion loss to the Russians?' The merchants all replied that it certainly would: 'For the English would thus monopolise trade; and, as they were richer than the Russians, the latter could not cope with competitors so powerful. But if the English consented to pay high duty or at once to give a large sum to the Moscovite treasury, at that epoch drained by war, then their desire would, for a time, be granted.' These proposals, however, did not suit Merik. He wished that the English should trade free of duty, from Russia to Persia. So the affair was broken off. But, when the Russians got quit of the English, the French appeared with the same proposals. Already, in 1615, Michael had sent his ambassador to France, in order to intimate 1615. his ascension of the throne, and also to beg for help against the Poles and the Swedes. King Louis XIII., however, dismissed the Moscovite ambassador without anything. During the autumn of 1629, a French ambassador named De Gay 1629. Courmenine arrived in Moscow, with proposals and requests that the French might be granted a way through Russia to Persia. Courmenine expatiated much on the advantages of the alliance, and thus expressed himself: 'His Imperial Majesty is chief of the eastern countries, and of the Greek faith; and Louis, king of France, is chief of southern countries. Thus, if he obtains the friendship of Michael, the enemies of the latter will lose much. The German emperor and the king of Poland are as one. Michael also should be as one with the king of France. Louis of France and his Imperial Majesty are everywhere famous. Other sovereigns so great and powerful are nowhere. Their subjects are in all submission to them, not like the English and the inhabitants of Brabant, or, in other words, what they wish they do. They buy cheap merchandise in Spanish countries, and then sell them at a high price to the Russians. The French, on the contrary, will sell all cheap.' But, in spite of this boasting and self-praise, the boyards rejected Courmenine's proposals, and told him that the French might buy Persian goods from Russian merchants. A similar refusal was also given to Dutch and to Danish ambassadors.

CHAPTER LXIX

SECOND WAR WITH POLAND

BUT the chief attention of the Moscovite government at this epoch was directed towards Poland. The truce of Deoline had been accepted in Moscow, merely from necessity. No further means of carrying on war remained, and rest was wanted in order once more to acquire new strength, as well as to liberate the sovereign's father from captivity. But it was utterly impossible that Michael could continue much longer in the position he had been placed in by the truce of Deoline. Vladislav did not renounce his claims to the Moscovite throne; the Polish government did not even acknowledge Michael as sovereign, held no intercourse with him, did not name him in documents, and that, too, while constant communication went on between two neighbouring states. The Russians could of course in no wise become accustomed to this state of things, but demanded that commanders of Lithuanian frontier towns, in documents, should name Michael Feodorovitch sovereign of Russia. The commanders, however, refused to do so. Not only was this the case; they even allowed themselves to give Michael's name humiliating contractions, to censure his election, to blacken him as an impostor. Goaded by such insults, Moscow of course awaited the first opportunity for a rupture. Thus when, in 1621, a Greek named Thomas Rantakuzine, the Turkish ambassador, came to Moscow, with proposals from the Sultan Osman to make war together on Poland, Philaret Nikititch answered thus: 'It was only on my account that my son ordered a truce to be concluded with the Polish king. But the injustice of the Poles and their devastation of Moscow we can never forget. We are merely waiting for the king to violate peace in the slightest manner. Then my son will send his armies against Poland.'

And, sure enough, the two representatives of power in Moscow summoned a council, composed of boyards, clergy, and individuals in service. To their consideration were present all the grievances heaped on Russia by Poland, as well as the favourable moment to make war on it, since Turkey and Sweden had offered alliance to Michael. All the members of the council swore fidelity to their sovereign and country, while merchants promised to support the undertaking by giving money. Accordingly, measures were at once taken to assemble troops, when suddenly news came that the expedition of the Sultan Osman against Poland had turned out unsuccessful. In Moscow, preparations for war were therefore postponed, though they still continued to be made. Furthermore, on

seeing the imperfect condition of Russian armies, the government resolved to hire foreign, more experienced commanders. Not only so; another decided step was taken, one, in fact, which no previous sovereign had adopted. In other words, the Russian military were taught to adopt foreign tactics. Commissions were given to bring firearms from abroad, and iron-founders were ordered to cast cannon-balls.

In April 1632 King Sigismund of Poland died. An interregnum then ensued, 1632. followed by an elective diet. This was certainly deemed a favourable moment for Moscow to send its already long-prepared armies against Poland. And they, in fact, were ready to march, when suddenly a dispute took place between two of the voevodes, Prince Dmitri Manistriookovitch Tscherkasski, and Prince Boris Michaelovitch Leekov. The former thus expressed himself: 'Prince Boris Michaelovitch does not wish to be my companion-in-arms, because he says I am governed by my followers, and that my customs are hard; also, that he is older than I am, that he has served the state for forty years, and that for thirty years he has been accustomed to march by himself, without associates.' Michael ordered Leekov to pay Tscherkasski a fine of one thousand two hundred roubles for the insult he had offered. These commanders, however, were not sent with the expedition. Others were chosen. Among them was the famous defender of Smolensk, the boyarine Michael Borisovitch Shein. Artemius Ismailov, too, was there, with thirty-two thousand men, one hundred and fifty-eight cannons, and orders to go before Smolensk. Other voevodes went to various towns. At first the war was successful. Twenty-three towns surrendered to the Russian voevodes. Shein and Ismailov besieged Smolensk, which, after struggling with the enemy for eight months, was on the point of surrendering, when, unexpectedly, it received aid. The city garrison was already in a state of starvation. But, during the above-mentioned interval, affairs in Poland were arranged. Vladislav was elected king instead of his father Sigismund, and the first act of the new sovereign was to march to aid Smolensk, with a force of twenty-three thousand men. At the same time, the Crimean Tartars, instigated by the Poles, devastated Moscovite Ukraine. Whereupon many of the military in Shein's regiment, on hearing that their estates were plundered by the Tartars, quitted Smolensk.

On August 23, 1633, King Vladislav arrived before that city, drove the 1633. Russians out of their favourable position, and cut off Shein from the way to Moscow. Towards the end of October the Russians began to suffer from want of provisions. Besides, in the camp, disorder and revolt existed. Some foreign generals there did not conceal their contempt of the Moscovite armies, and very often refused to obey the chief voevode. The mortality, too, among the troops attained an alarming height.

Soloviev (vol. ix. p. 204 of his larger *History of Russia*) mentions the following incident: 'The chief among the foreigner officers then in the Russian camp was a Colonel Lesley. He advised the Russians to attack the enemy. Colonel Sanderson, an Englishman, opposed Lesley. The latter flew into a passion, and called Sanderson a traitor. Shein hardly succeeded in separating them. Lesley's advice was followed. On December 2 the Russians suffered from cold, and went to a neighbouring forest for fuel. There they were attacked by the Poles, who laid five hundred dead on the spot. When that was known, Lesley advised Shein to go to the scene of action, and to count how many Russians had perished. Along with Shein and Lesley, Sanderson went also. Lesley suddenly turned round, and, pointing to the dead bodies, said to Sanderson: "There, that is your work. You told the king that our men were going to the forest." "Liar!" shouted Sanderson. Whereupon Lesley seized a pistol, fired, and killed Sanderson before Shein's very eyes. And Lesley remained unpunished!'

1634.

¶ Finally, in January 1634, Shein, overcome by cold, hunger, and the ever-increasing mortality among his troops, came to terms with the king, and agreed to retreat from Smolensk, while he left all his baggage and artillery at the disposal of the Poles. On February 19 the Russians abandoned their camp, and were, besides, obliged to comply with a humiliating ceremony; in other words, to lay down their standards before the king. In Moscow, a terrible fate awaited poor Shein and his associates. At this epoch Philaret Nikititch was no longer alive. He died October 1, 1633. The boyards had accordingly acquired increased power. They, moreover, hated Shein, and accordingly resolved to be revenged on him. 'The statements concerning Shein's treachery are probably false,' says Ilovaiski (p. 175). 'Shein's arrogance was the reason why he was detested by the nobles. It is said that his indiscreet behaviour was especially remarkable before setting out on the expedition to Smolensk. When Michael dismissed the voevodes and gave them his hand to kiss, Shein, with overbearing self-confidence, boasted of himself, said that from his previous services he was superior to all his brother boyards, for, while he was in battle, many of them were seated near the stove, and could nowhere be found.'

Shein was forthwith accused of treachery, condemned to death, and beheaded, along with some of his associates, among whom were Ismailov and his son. Others were sent in exile to Siberia. When Shein had retreated from Smolensk, the king moved towards Bielii, and hoped to take that town; but things turned out differently. The Poles, proud of their success at Smolensk, became imprudent, and the Russians profited by this imprudence. They made a successful sally, during which a number of Poles fell. They were, besides, enfeebled by hunger

and disease. Meanwhile, news also came that Turkish forces had approached the Polish frontiers. In such circumstances, the king was obliged, as soon as possible, to conclude peace with Moscow, a permanent peace, which would confirm for Lithuania the conquests of Sigismund. The Polish pans (nobles) then made proposals of peace to the Russians, which the latter favourably received. The plenipotentiaries of both parties met near the river Polianovka, where, on a previous occasion, prisoners had been exchanged. There (1634) a permanent peace was concluded. The Russians ceded all the towns assigned them at the truce of Deoline, except Serpaïsk, and, besides, paid twenty thousand roubles. In return, Vladislav renounced all claims to the throne of Moscow, and consented to acknowledge Michael as its sovereign. At the beginning of 1635, in order to confirm the peace by the king's oath, a Russian ambassador, Prince Lvov-Yaroslavski, was sent to Poland. While there, he persuaded the Poles to cede to the Russians the remains of Vasili Shooiski, those of his brother Dmitri and of his wife. They were accordingly brought back to Moscow, where Vasili's ashes were, with much pomp, interred in the Cathedral of the Archangel Michael, amid the tombs of other royal princes. To this subject we have alluded in a previous chapter.

Peace with Poland, 1634, 17th May.

CHAPTER LXX

AZOPH TAKEN BY THE COSSACKS, 1637

AFTER the second hostilities with Poland, there was no other war during the reign of Michael Feodorovitch. Indeed, the Russians endeavoured to avoid any collision with Turkey. Constant intercourse with that state was, notwithstanding, carried on, during which the Russian ambassadors suffered not a little, because Don Cossacks continually attacked Turkish dominions and seized Turkish vessels. In 1637 the Cossacks thought to take Azoph, an important Turkish fort at the mouth of the Don, with whose inhabitants they were perpetually at war. Along with a thousand Zaporog Cossacks, those of the Don (April 21) marched towards Azoph, along with a force of 4400 warriors.

1637—Azoph taken by the Cossacks.

At that time the Turkish ambassador—a Greek, Rantakuzine—was passing through their territory. The Cossacks then stopped him, and, on suspicion that he was holding intercourse with the inhabitants of Azoph, put him to death. On June 18 Azoph was taken by the Cossacks. All the citizens were killed save the Greeks there. After liberating captive Christians, the victors took possession of the town, and sent news of their conquest to Moscow. To this intimation Michael replied: 'You have done wrong in killing the Turkish

ambassador of your own free will. It is nowhere customary to kill ambassadors; and you have taken Azoph without our imperial orders.' To the sultan, Michael wrote: 'Cossacks have taken Azoph as plunder, because, for a lengthened period, they have been robbers or runaway bondmen, and they disobey all our imperial commands. But, brother, be not angry with us because Cossacks have killed your ambassador and taken Azoph. They have done so without our order, and of their own free will. As for us, we never take the part of such robbers, and in no wise do we wish to quarrel with you on their account. On the contrary, we would gladly command all such vagabonds to be put to death during a single hour. Moreover, we desire to live with your sultanic majesty in brotherly friendship and love.'

However, it was difficult for Russia to avoid quarrels with Turkey. During autumn, the Crimean Tartars devastated Moscovite Ukraine, and the khan wrote to Moscow that the attack was made at the sultan's instigation to revenge the taking of Azoph by the Cossacks. Only in May 1641 the sultan, Ibrahim I., sent an army of 200,000 men towards Azoph; but the Cossacks, with the courage of despair, repulsed twenty-four attacks, and forced the Turks to raise the siege.

The Cossacks thereupon sent news to Moscow of their triumph, and at the same time also described their pitiful condition. 'Our feet are bare,' wrote they; 'we are naked and hungry. Our stores of powder and lead are exhausted. Hence many Cossacks wish to disperse. We have likewise a great many wounded.' The Cossacks, moreover, requested that Michael would accept Azoph. Thereupon (January 3, 1642) Michael summoned a council of the most distinguished individuals in office, and proposed to them the solution of the following questions:—'Should the Moscovite state violate peace with the sultan on account of Azoph? Should it be accepted from the Cossacks? If war began with Turkey, many troops would be required; stores, not merely for one year, would be necessary; and where would funds for the war be procured?' Different opinions prevailed in the council. The clergy maintained the necessity of taking Azoph, promised to aid the expedition by giving funds, and even suggested that the patriarch's treasury, and those of monasteries, might be appropriated. The nobles and 'boyards' children' (or militia of princes and nobles) expressed their willingness to serve, and proposed that collectors should be appointed to receive contributions from the people, but that a distinction should be made between sums accepted from the rich and the poor. The petty nobles meanwhile complained of their extreme poverty; they said they continued in want while some in office became rich and bought land. The poor nobles likewise added that they suffered more from the injustice of

1641.

1642.

Moscovite judges than from the inroads of Turks and Crimean Tartars. The merchants also stated that they were ruined by the last Polish war, when large sums were taken from them by foreigners, such as Germans and Persians, who monopolised trade, and especially by voevodes, who plundered. Notwithstanding, the merchants concluded by saying that they were ready to lay down their lives for their sovereign and their native country. But war was not undertaken. Different classes of the people testified their poverty and their total inability to furnish necessary funds for a long and bloody struggle. Finally, messengers sent to examine Azoph reported that the town was ruined, and therefore impossible to defend. Michael accordingly issued a document ordering the Cossacks to abandon Azoph. They did so; but previously they left not one stone upon another.

CHAPTER LXXI

PRINCE VALDEMAR OF DENMARK—THE IMPOSTOR, IVAN DMITRIEV LOOBA—DEATH OF MICHAEL FEODOROVITCH, 1645

DURING the latter years of Michael's reign two important events took place in 1642. intercourse with Denmark and Poland. In 1642 Michael sent an ambassador named Proestev to Denmark to King Christian IV. with proposals to send his son, Prince Valdemar, to Moscow, in order that he might become the husband of Michael's eldest daughter, Irina Michaelovna. Prince Valdemar was the son of a Countess Monk, united to King Christian IV. by a morganatic marriage. The first proposals concerning Prince Valdemar were declined, as the ambassador stated that the young prince would be obliged to embrace the Russo-Greek faith. Notwithstanding, at the close of the year Michael again sent an ambassador to Denmark in the person of Peter Marselis, a German merchant, who had established himself in Moscow. To him it was assigned to arrange the above-mentioned marriage. Marselis accordingly executed the commission. On this occasion it was stated that the prince was to have full freedom of religious belief, and was even to have a separate church for himself.

At the beginning of 1644 Valdemar came to Moscow, and there was joyfully received; but eventually it was made known that the young prince was expected to change his religion. Valdemar, however, would in no wise consent to do so, and immediately demanded his dismissal; but he soon saw that he was destined to be detained. He therefore endeavoured to escape secretly, and the affair did not terminate without bloodshed.

At the same time as the unpleasant incident with Prince Valdemar took

place in Moscow, there were also disagreeable conferences between that state and Poland. After the peace of Polianovka, Michael sent ambassadors to King Vladislav with complaints that Polish nobles and those in authority at the frontiers constantly wrote the imperial titles with mistakes. The Poles considered that of no importance, while the Russians, on the contrary, maintained that their chief duty was to uphold their sovereign's honour. They accordingly demanded the severe punishment of the offenders; but the Poles avoided decision of the affair. Thus mutual discontent increased. On the other hand, the Poles complained that they suffered from rebellious Little Russian Cossacks, who found shelter in Moscovite possessions. Finally, in 1643, Prince Lvov was sent as ambassador to Poland with a very important commission; in other words, he was ordered to complain that the Poles sheltered an impostor, Ian Faustinus Looba, who called himself the Czarevitch Ivan Dmitrievitch, son of the 'Toosheeno Robber' and Mareena. It was eventually known that a petty Polish nobleman, Dmitri Looba, had gone, along with his little son, to Moscow, during the 'troublous times,' and was there killed. The orphan child was taken by another petty Polish nobleman named Belinski, brought back to Poland by him, and there called the son of the second false Dmitri and Mareena. The latter, it was further stated, had given the boy to Belinski's care. When the child grew up, Belinski gave information to the Diet concerning his charge. Looba was next confided to Leo Sapieha. Maintenance was assigned Looba, and at length he was sent to learn at a Russian monastery. But when permanent peace with Moscow was concluded, Looba was forgotten, as an individual no longer needed. Thus the unfortunate youth who bore the sounding title of Czarevitch of Moscow was obliged to gain his living in the service of private families, while his title brought great misfortune upon him. Prince Lvov demanded that he should be given up. The Polish government, however, did not consent to give up to certain death an individual totally innocent. The nobles assured the Russian ambassador that Looba was in no wise dangerous, and was, moreover, on the point of taking holy orders. Prince Lvov, notwithstanding, replied that Otrepiev had also been a recluse, but that did not prevent him from agitating the Moscovite state. Finally, King Vladislav sent Looba, along with the Polish ambassador, Stempkovski, to Moscow, and in a special document implored Michael to send back again to Poland an unhappy man, in no wise guilty; but Michael would not consent to do so. Thus the affair was postponed.

1643-1644.

1645.

At this period the health of Michael Feodorovitch gave way. He had been deeply touched by a great domestic sorrow, or, in other words, the premature death of his two sons, Ivan and Vasili, within the space of three months. This

occurred in 1639. The failure, too, regarding the Princess Irene's marriage affected the sensitive nature of Michael. In April 1645 the best doctors of the time prescribed for Michael, and strove to alleviate his sufferings, but in vain; his illness increased. On July 12, his name's-day, the day of Saint Michael Maleine, he went to early morning service; but in church he was seized with a fainting fit, and was carried back to his own apartments. Towards evening he became worse. He ordered the Czarine and his son Alexis (a youth of sixteen) to be summoned, along with his tutor, Boris Ivanovitch Morozov. The patriarch, too, was called. The dying sovereign then said farewell to his consort, blessed his son, and thus addressed Morozov:—'To thee, our boyarine, I recommend my son, and with tears I say to thee, as thou hast served and laboured, with great joy and gladness, while leaving home, estates, and tranquillity in order to watch over my son's health, and to teach him the fear of God and all wisdom, and as thou hast constantly and patiently lived without absence in our dwelling for the space of thirteen years, amid disquiet, and guarded my son like the apple of thine eye, so continue to serve now.'

About two o'clock A.M. Michael felt death approaching. He accordingly confessed, and partook of the holy communion, after which, at three o'clock, he passed away, in his forty-ninth year.

As we have previously mentioned, the two consorts of Michael Feodorovitch were the Princess Mary Vladimirovna Dolgorookaia and Evdokia (pronounce Yevdokeeia) Lookianovna Streshneva, daughter of an insignificant courtier.

Michael Romanov, besides his son Alexis and the two princes Ivan and Vasili above mentioned, had a large family of daughters, three of whom, Irene, Anna, and Tatiana, survived their father. The others were named Pelageia, Marfa, Sophia, Eudoxia, and Mary. Their tombs are still in perfect preservation in the Ascension monastery of the Moscow Kreml.

CHAPTER LXXII

EVENTS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF MICHAEL'S REIGN—EFFORTS OF MICHAEL AND PHILARET TO RESTORE THE DILAPIDATED CONDITION OF THE STATE—FOREIGN ARTISANS—INHABITANTS OF VILLAGES—EXTENSION OF RUSSIAN POSSESSIONS IN SIBERIA—CORRECTION OF BOOKS—ENLIGHTENMENT AND LITERATURE

MICHAEL FEODOROVITCH ROMANOV ascended the throne when the Moscovite state was in a truly lamentable condition. In order to deliver the country

from outward and inward enemies, troops were necessary. Troops demanded pay, and the public treasury was empty. It thus became expedient to fill the coffers of the crown by levying imposts on the inhabitants of towns and villages; but these inhabitants were ruined also. The population was, moreover, dispersed. From many towns not a few citizens avoided paying dues by removing to Moscow or by going elsewhere. There they lived with relations or friends. Numbers stated their impoverished condition, and implored exemption from taxes. Some even pledged themselves, and thus went into a state of dependence in the houses of nobles, and so were not forced to pay dues. Loud complaints were everywhere heard of the violence suffered from boyards and from those of other conditions. When Philaret Nikititch returned from Poland, he and his son summoned a council, in which it was decreed that conscientious individuals should be sent, in order to give a true description of towns, and to do so without taking bribes, to seek out the inhabitants of other towns, to send them back to their former dwellings. From each town persons were also sent to Moscow to state all cases of violence, offence, or of utter ruin. One great obstacle to the restoration of prosperity in towns was the excessive cruelty of voevodes and others in office. Thus, in 1620, government issued documents wherein it was distinctly stated that severe punishment would be inflicted on those who took bribes and on any who offered them. All were strictly prohibited from doing so. Of course, the population of remote spots, such, for example, as Siberia, suffered more than elsewhere, for their complaints could not soon reach Moscow. Besides the violence of boyards and those in office, the inhabitants both of towns and country spots were also much troubled by robbers. The latter had formerly been numerous, and their numbers had yet more increased after the recent sedition and the Cossack domination.

In consequence of the terrible disorder during the 'troubulous times,' trade and industry in Russian towns could certainly make little progress. Merchants did not amass wealth. They could, especially, in no wise cope with foreign traders, and therefore urged government to prohibit them from penetrating to the interior towns of the state. Notwithstanding, all rejoiced at the arrival of foreign artisans and tradesmen, as they gave the people work, while they taught useful arts and trades. During the reign of Michael Feodorovitch, a much larger number of these foreigners came than before. Vinius, a Dutch merchant, founded near Toola a foundry for casting cannons and articles made of iron. Marselis, the German merchant, with whom we are already acquainted, begged for an imperial document granting him permission to found similar manufactories on the rivers Vaga, Kostroma, and Sheksna. Other foreign artisans, too, obtained

similar grants, and permission to carry on their occupation for some years. One condition, however, obligatory on them was that they would teach their art to Russians without concealing anything.

As for the inhabitants of villages, in spite of the law which bound them to the soil, rich proprietors did not scruple to allure peasants away from poor masters. The latter thereupon complained. Thus government took severe measures against violation of this law; but at that epoch the population of European Russia was so very scarce that proprietors used force to take peasants from each other in spite of law. Meanwhile, towards the east, beyond the Ural Mountains, vast unpopulated regions were gradually added to Russian sway. During the reign of Michael Feodorovitch, Russian possessions in Siberia were augmented to the extent of seventy thousand square miles of desert tracts. For the Cossacks penetrated further and further towards the Pacific Ocean and to the boundaries of China. There various savage races were brought under the sway of Russian monarchs. Their subjects founded towns in these regions, and there introduced agriculture and arts. Privileges were even granted to those who established themselves on the river Leni, at a spot capable of cultivation. In this wise, if the Russians, by the treaties of Stolbov and Polianovka, had been cut off from civilised western Europe, they at all events penetrated far into the boundless, unpopulated regions of northern Asia, where they founded European civilisation and introduced Christianity there.

The Russian church, while extending its boundaries towards the distant East, was naturally obliged to turn attention to the purity of its teaching, and also to morality, which had much suffered from want of instruction. During the reign of Michael Feodorovitch, when tranquillity was once more restored to Moscow, the printing of books again began. It had been stopped on account of devastation in the capital. But before printing church books it was previously necessary to correct them from glaring mistakes, purposely or unintentionally made by ignorant copyists. That correction, during the year 1616, was intrusted to the celebrated archimandrite Dionysius of the Trinity cloister, along with his associates; but illiterate individuals, themselves hardly knowing the alphabet, accused the correctors of heresy. Dionysius was tormented especially because he would not give bribes. Indeed, he was only liberated from captivity when the patriarch of Jerusalem came to Moscow and proved to Philaret Nikititch that the correctors were guiltless. Besides the correction of books, the Russian church, during the reign of Michael Feodorovitch, was also obliged to rectify morality, both among the clergy and laity, particularly in Siberia.

Ancient customs were scrupulously observed at this remote epoch, and

innovations were severely punished. For smoking tobacco, the punishment was to have the nose cut off. Adam Olearius, the learned ambassador of Holstein, then in Moscow, narrates how he saw this punishment inflicted on a man and a woman (see Soloviev's *History of Russia*, Reign of Michael Feodorovitch, p. 441). From the greater number of foreigners gradually admitted to Moscow, the superiority of their knowledge was soon felt. Through their influence also a great and gradual change took place in Russian society, which began to assimilate to that of western Europe. Not only did Michael encourage foreign artisans and different tradesmen to come to Moscow, but he likewise endeavoured to attract learned men there. Among others (1634-1636) was the learned Adam Olearius, to whom we have already made allusion; he was an astronomer, geographer, and geometrician. 'For such teachers are useful to us,' says Michael in a document. The patriarch Philaret founded an institution for Greek and Latin. As far as literary remembrances are concerned, which have descended to us from the reign of Michael Feodorovitch, the foremost place among them is occupied by annals and narrations. In them we have details of the 'troubulous times.' These annals are known by the name of *Philaret's Manuscripts*. There are also annals of several seditions and the annals of Pskov. Among remarkable narrations is that of Abraham Palitzine, cellarist of the Trinity cloister, giving particulars of its never-to-be-forgotten siege of sixteen months by the Poles (1608-1609). There are likewise two narrations concerning Pskov; one belongs to the pen of an individual of the better classes; another to that of the poorer, or 'smaller people,' as they were then called. These two narrations are curious on account of the different views taken, not merely regarding Pskov, but also of other circumstances in Russia. Among foreign works on Russia, the most remarkable during the reign of Michael Feodorovitch is that of Adam Olearius.

CHAPTER LXXIII

WESTERN RUSSIA DURING THE SIXTEENTH AND THE FIRST HALF OF THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, 1569-1572-1595-1650

RUSSIAN territories forming the Polish Lithuanian state were at this epoch divided into the following provinces:—

Towards the north, at the reservoir of the Upper Dnieper, the Upper Niemen, and the Western Dvina, was situated White Russia, *i.e.* the ancient principalities of Polotzk, Minsk, and part of Smolensk.

The country traversed by the lower waters of the Dnieper received the name of Little Russia, *i.e.* the principalities of Kiev, Tscherneegov, and part of Sieversk. Then came the so-called Polesié, along the river Pripiet, *i.e.* Volhynia and Podolia.

Along the Upper Boog, and further towards the west, was Red Russia ('Tschervonnaia Roos'), or Galicia. The eastern districts of the present governments of Grodno and the adjacent Minsk bore the name of Black Russia, while the western part of Grodno was named Podlachia (the country of the ancient Yatviags).

POLISH INFLUENCE

When western Russia was subdued by Lithuania, the victors gradually began to imitate the manners and customs of the conquered people. The Russian language and religion became those of the state at the court of the Lithuanian Grand Princes; but after being united to Poland, both Lithuania and the Russian element submitted to the influence of Polish civilisation. In south-western Russia, as also in Poland, the higher classes were composed of so-called 'magnates,' who owned large estates, while the 'schliechti,' or poorer nobles, possessed small property. The influence of Polish manners and customs then began to predominate. Then also were introduced 'diets of nobles.' Polish influence was, however, first felt and introduced by means of the court. Yagello, for example, spoke no other language than Russ, but his sons already adopted the Polish language. Notwithstanding, in judicial and administrative documents the Russian language was employed during the sixteenth century, and even in the seventeenth.

'Poland is enlightened by Latin and Lithuania by Russia,' says one author of the first half of the seventeenth century. In the course of time many Polish words were introduced in the written and spoken language of western Russia, which was eventually divided into two dialects—White Russian and Little Russian. However, that language did not cease to be Russian, and retained the conjugations and declensions of Russ.

Ancient Russian principalities were divided into voevodeships and districts. Former viceroys were replaced by royal voevodes, castellains, and starosts. Many Russian towns had the German administration, introduced in Poland, and known by the name of 'Magdeburg Rights or Privileges.' These towns had their voits, or bailiffs, chosen by the king from the class of nobles. The bailiff pronounced judgment, along with the burgomaster and the katman, or alderman, chosen from among the citizens themselves. Each town had its own coat-of-arms, its seal, its banner. Each corporation of tradesmen had likewise its own flag.

Tradesmen were exempt from certain obligations, such as to repair royal castles and to furnish relays to royal functionaries. In such towns, foreign merchants could only trade wholesale, and not in retail.

In the judicial administration of western Russia some Polish laws had been introduced. These, along with ancient local laws, were collected, and formed one code, known by the name of Lithuanian Statutes.

The first collection of these laws was made by commission of Sigismund I.; but after the union of Lioobline the want of a more complete code was felt, and also one more in accordance with Polish law. By commission of Stephen Batory, that labour was accomplished, chiefly by the chancellor, Leo Sapieha. In this form the statutes received the final confirmation of Sigismund in 1588. The said code was at first printed in Russ. According to the newly modified statutes, judgment was to be pronounced openly and verbally. In criminal trials the superstition of the Middle Ages appeared, such, for example, as the punishment of magic arts. A supposed murderer was led to the body of the murdered man, on foundation of the old belief that his wounds would then emit fresh blood if the accused was in reality guilty.

THE LIOOBLINSKI UNION, OR UNION OF LIOOBLINE, 1569

The final union of Poland with Lithuania and south-western Russia took place during the reign of Sigismund II. (Augustus, 1548-1572), the last king of the Yagellon dynasty. At the Diet of Lioobline (1569), Lithuania and Poland were united, with equal rights, and formed one state, called the 'Rietsch Pospolita,' or Republic.

The complete union of Lithuania and Poland had been promised by Yagello at his coronation in Cracow. From that epoch the Polish nobles and the Catholic clergy had constantly tried to promote the union; but their efforts were opposed by the powerful Lithuanian aristocracy, who dreaded to lose their influence if the petty Polish nobles were increased and considered equal to all members of the upper classes. To this opposition religious differences were also added. A considerable number of the Lithuanian aristocracy had embraced Protestantism, and therefore still more opposed the Polish Catholic party. After Sigismund I., the king of Poland and grand prince of Lithuania, was his son, Sigismund II. (Augustus). The mother of Augustus was Queen Bona, an Italian princess, whose ambition, avarice, and intrigues caused her to leave a bad remembrance of herself in Poland. She gave her son a very enervating education. Augustus was a sovereign of weak disposition, fond of idleness and amusement. As he was childless, with him terminated the dynasty of Yagello, which had

served as a political bond between Lithuania and Poland. Consequently, the danger of their separation ensued. The Polish Catholic party redoubled their efforts for the formal union of these two states, but met with powerful opposition from the Lithuanian chancellor, Nicholas Radzivil, surnamed 'The Black.' He was a zealous Protestant. From his personal qualities, and also from relationship, he possessed great influence over the king. For Sigismund Augustus had secretly married the beautiful Barbara Radzivil, cousin of Nicholas, and in no wise wished to separate from his deeply beloved consort, in spite of his mother Bona's entreaties, as well as the demands of the senate and of the diet. Barbara Radzivil, however, soon died—poisoned, according to Polish authorities, by an Italian doctor, whom the malicious Queen Bona had placed beside her daughter-in-law. On the death of Nicholas Radzivil the Lithuanian Protestant party lost its leader, and Sigismund Augustus became influenced by the Polish Catholic party.

The question concerning the union of Lithuania and Poland was decided at the Diet of Lioobline, which assembled January 1569, and was prolonged till July. The representatives of the grand principality of Lithuania long and obstinately opposed that union. Meanwhile, the king threatened the in-subordinate with the loss of position obtained for life, such as starosts, etc.; and the Poles refused to aid the Lithuanian Russian state in projected war with John the Terrible. The greater number of Lithuanian ambassadors had already, of their own free will, quitted the diet, thinking thus to prevent the union, but without success. The king, during this interval, urged two of the most powerful western Russian nobles to favour the union. They were Constantine Ostrojski, voevode (commander) of Kiev, and Alexander Tschartorejski, voevode of Volhynia. And these two nobles, in turn, urged the smaller proprietors of south-western Russia to follow the same example; for they were less opposed to the union than the representatives of purely Lithuanian provinces (particularly Protestants). The latter, on seeing that the affair would be decided without them, were thus forced to appear again at the diet, and finally signed the Act of Union. According to that act, the Polish crown and the grand duchy of Lithuania were united to each other with equal rights. Both had a general common diet and senate (in the Mazovian town, Warsaw), but each retained its own administrative functionaries, such as chancellor, under-chancellor, marshal, hetman, etc.

From the epoch of the Liooblinsk union (1569) began the greater influence of 1569. Poland in western Russia. What proved of special importance in that respect were statutes of the union, which permitted Poles to acquire estates in the

grand principality of Lithuania, and there to occupy government situations. Polish influence began to be still more widely diffused among the upper classes of south-western Russia, which was immediately united to Poland.

INVASION OF CATHOLICISM—BROTHERHOODS

Notwithstanding, the union of south-western Russia to Poland was insufficient to form an inward, more permanent foundation. The great obstacle to the entire assimilation of the Russian and the Polish people was the difference of their religion; for the Romish clergy would not refrain from endeavouring to extirpate the Russo-Greek faith from Russian districts, which thus became discontented with government, and, in general, opposed the union. During the administration of the Yagelloes these efforts were, however, only feeble, and ceased almost entirely while the later sovereigns of the dynasty occupied the throne. One chief condition of the Liooblinsk union was that the Russo-Greek faith should be maintained intact in south-western Russia. But towards the close of the sixteenth century, when Jesuits obtained a firm footing in Poland, enmity between Romanists and the Pravoslavni, or orthodox Russo-Greek church, was deadly in the highest degree.

At that period the religious movement, awakened by the success of the Reformation, spread over all western Europe; and the Jesuitical Order was purposely summoned to Poland in order to struggle with Protestantism.

From Germany the Reformation, during the first half of the sixteenth century, penetrated to Poland and Lithuania, and there made rapid progress. This was much favoured by the toleration of the two later Yagelloes, and also because wealthy nobles were accustomed to go abroad for their education. During the second half of the sixteenth century, the greater part of the senators consisted of dissenters (*i.e.* Protestants and Pravoslavni). Valerian Protasevitch, bishop of Vilna, was the first to summon Jesuits to Lithuania (1569) to oppose the Reformation. In Vilna they established their society or college, and annexed to it a school. Ten years later that school was transformed into the academy of Vilna, or higher institution, with a right to distribute learned degrees, such as Doctor of Theology, Doctor of Philosophy, Master of Arts, etc., to its pupils. The first rector of that academy was the famous Polish Jesuit, Peter Skarga. Meanwhile, Jesuitical colleges and schools began to appear in many towns of western Russia. Bishops and Romanist magnates literally endowed them with estates and capital. The Jesuits, by their preaching, disputes in public, and private exhortations, soon gained the ascendancy over the dissenting clergy. Indeed, Protestantism had never taken deep root among the people, and was

weakened on account of having been divided into sects inimical to each other, such as Lutherans, Calvinists, Arians, and others. As usual, the Jesuits turned all their attention to distinguished, wealthy, influential families, and thus ensured entire success. For although Nicholas Radzivill the Black was the chief Protestant leader in Lithuania, his son, Nicholas Seerotka, became a zealous Romanist.

After weakening the Protestant party, the Jesuits next powerfully opposed the Greek church. They enticed young Russians, brought them up at Romanist schools, and endeavoured to lower the Russian clergy by hindering their instruction. Government greatly aided the Jesuits. They especially found a zealous protector in Stephen Batory's unforeseeing successor, Sigismund III. of the Swedish dynasty of Vasa (1587-1632). His attachment to the Romish faith amounted to fanaticism. The Catholic religion gradually began to spread in Russian districts, particularly among the higher classes. For a lengthened period Russian nobles had formed the principal support of the Greek church. But their posterity adopted the manners and customs of the Polish aristocracy, and abandoned the religion of their forefathers, so that at the close of the sixteenth century a considerable number already professed Catholicism. Notwithstanding, the greater part of the smaller nobles in western Russia, along with citizens of towns and all the lower classes, still firmly adhered to the old religion.

The harassment experienced by members of the Greek Church at this period is proved by complaints of Russian nobles on account of affronts offered to the Pravoslavni inhabitants in the town of Lemberg from their fellow-citizens, the Papists (1595). For example, priests of the Greek church, carrying the sacrament to the sick, were prohibited from passing a market-place in official attire, and were forbidden to carry lighted tapers. On festivals, processions with crosses held aloft were not allowed to issue from parish churches and to go to suburbs of towns. Papists beat the pupils of Pravoslavni schools, and dragged these scholars to Jesuit institutions. Servants were not allowed to frequent the Greek church, but were forced to attend that of Rome. In Pravoslavni churches no bells could be rung, because they disturbed Catholic preachers, etc. It is remarkable that these complaints—at the judicial court of Lemberg—were made by Pravoslavni nobles, Prince Adam Vishnevetzki and Prince Rojinski.

The Greek church, in struggling against enemies, had powerful aid in so-called 'Brotherhoods.' They were companies, existing long before in western Russia, founded on benevolent and religious motives. Brotherhoods were chiefly formed of townsmen, and, at the second half of the sixteenth century, received a regular organisation. For example, members of brotherhoods elected an elder, con-

tributed money to a general treasury, assembled at certain times, etc. As far as the church was concerned, the eastern patriarchs granted many rights and privileges to these brotherhoods, such, for example, as denouncing and even excommunicating any who abandoned the statutes of the Russo-Greek church.

The brotherhoods, at their own expense, founded schools for Pravoslavni children of all ranks, built hospitals for the sick, organised printing-presses to print books in the Slavonian and Greek languages. The most remarkable brotherhoods were those of Lemberg (Lvov) in Galicia (founded in 1586 by burgesses of Lemberg, along with the founders and churchwardens of the Assumption cathedral), the brotherhoods of Vilna in Lithuania, Loozsk in Volhynia, and Bogoiavlenski in Kiev.

UNION OF THE CHURCH—COUNCIL OF BREST, 1596

Dissatisfied with the slow progress of Catholicism in western Russia, the Jesuits—for the middle and lower classes—renewed the proposal of church union, *i.e.* the union of the Greek and Latin churches under supremacy of the pope of Rome, while the former was to maintain its rights and its services in the Slavonian tongue. This attempt had already been made during the fifteenth century, at the Council of Florence (1439), but without success.

Among the Jesuits who most favoured church union were Peter Skarga and the famous Anthony Possevin.

Anthony Possevin—a mediator when peace was concluded between John the Terrible and Batory—urged John to unite the churches, and had a lengthened dispute with him concerning religion. But Possevin completely failed in Moscow; so he next turned his attention to the union of the western Russian churches. Peter Skarga was the court preacher of Sigismund III., and famed for his eloquence. In Skarga's sermons and speeches in the diet, he boldly denounced the disorganisation of Poland. Among his compositions the best known is that entitled, *On the Union of God's Churches under one Pastor*. Skarga therein proposed means for uniting the churches.

Peter Skarga and Anthony Possevin found sympathy even from Pravoslavni bishops; for the latter had long suffered on account of their unfavourable position in the Polish state, and endeavoured to obtain rights granted to the higher Romanist clergy, such as that of being able to sit in the diet on equality with magnates.

A desire for church union was, moreover, greatly aided by the disorderly condition of bishoprics in south-western Russia, after its separation from the Moscovite state. The kings of Poland, according to their own will, distributed

high clerical dignities, such as those of bishops or abbots of monasteries, so that very often they were conferred not on those previously prepared to fill a position so distinguished, but on secular individuals of noble family who merely desired to obtain the wealth of church property. Besides, discord between brotherhoods and the higher clergy still more augmented disorganisation in the western Russian church. One of the most distinguished hierarchs of western Russia, towards the close of the fifteenth century, was Cyril Terletzki, bishop of Loozsk and Ostrog, descended from a distinguished family, and himself an ambitious man. He was accustomed to be surrounded by luxury, and to live like a magnate. In fact, Terletzki was rather a good manager of church property than a true hierarch. At the commencement of his career Terletzki was a zealous defender of the Greek church against secular power. Jeremiah, patriarch of Constantinople, had visited south-western Russia in 1589, and had promoted Terletzki to the dignity of exarch. Then, too, Jeremiah had deposed Anisephorus, metropolitan of Kiev, because he had married a second time,¹ and, in his stead, appointed Michael Ragoza. The latter was in reality a man of irreproachable conduct, but weak, with too little energy, consequently he was unfit to fill an exalted position at that stormy epoch. Semashka, starost of Loozsk, who had changed the Greek faith for that of Rome, began zealously to pursue Terletzki, cast him into captivity, starved him, and otherwise offended him. The humiliated bishop could nowhere find redress for his wrongs. Besides, his love of luxury, and his desire for honour, could no longer withstand trials. He accordingly made peace with Shemashka. The persecution of the latter thereupon ceased. But, henceforth, Cyril Terletzki appeared as a zealous supporter of the union. Even Constantine Ostrojski himself, the ardent defender of the Greek church, at first believed that the Pope's protection would save the Pravoslavni from Polish oppression and put a stop to disorder in hierarchies. So thought many others, too, while they hoped to preserve the purity of the Greek ritual, and while they were not yet convinced of the union's true signification, or, in other words, a preparatory step to Romanism.

In western Russia the soul of the party favourable to the union became Cyril Terletzki, bishop of Loozsk (government of Volhynia), and Ipathius Potei, bishop of Vladimir-Volinski. Michael Ragoza, metropolitan of Kiev, dissatisfied with his dependence on the patriarch of Constantinople, was also inclined to favour the union. As for Sigismund III., he joyfully protected it. Terletzki and Potei accordingly went to Rome, and there, in the name of all the other bishops, begged the pope (Clement VIII.) to place them under his supreme power (1595).

¹ The clergy of the Russo-Greek church are allowed to marry only once.

The union of the western Russian churches was thus celebrated in Rome. But, at the same time, the greater part of the Russian clergy, the upper classes, and some of the nobles, strongly opposed submission to the pope. Thus, in order to decide the question, a council assembled at Brest (government of Grodno).

1596—
Council of
Brest.

Western Russian bishops, along with many abbots and priests, met at that council. It was soon divided into two parties—the Pravoslavni, or supporters of the Greek church, and the unionists, or those who favoured the union. The soul of the Pravoslavni party, among the secular nobles, was the venerable Prince Constantine Ostrojski, voevode of Kiev, and amongst the clergy Gideon Balaban, bishop of Lemberg. Brest belonged to the diocese of Potei. He thereupon ordered all the churches to be shut, so that the Pravoslavni party could not assemble there. They were accordingly obliged to meet in private houses. The presidency of the council was reserved for the exarch Nicephorus, invested with full power by the patriarch of Constantinople. Three times did Nicephorus summon the metropolitan Ragoza and his like-minded associates to appear for consultation, but they refused to come. Then the Pravoslavni council pronounced the metropolitan and the unionist bishops to be deprived of their dignities, and issued a protest against the union. From this period the unionist party had its own particular assemblies in the cathedral church, and, on its side, anathematised the clergy still faithful to the old religion (*i.e.* the Russo-Greek).

The church union was received with great discontent by the people of Vilna—then the residence of the western Russian metropolitan—as also in Kiev, Polotzk, and other considerable towns of western Russia. Meanwhile, Michael Ragoza soon died. His successor, as metropolitan, was Ipathius Potei, who continued zealously to promote the union, for which he was nearly killed by the citizens of Vilna. At that epoch a remarkable defender of the Russo-Greek church in Vilna was an eloquent preacher named Stephen Zizani. Potei's successor, the metropolitan Benjamin Rootzki, a cunning, energetic man, greatly contributed to spread the union at a time difficult for it, when the Pravoslavni metropolitan opposed it, and when also the greater part of the Russian nobles and Cossacks were ready, sword in hand, to defend the old church. Rootzki transformed monastic life of the union, according to Romish orders, and named it 'Basilianski,' or 'Order of Vasili (Basil) the Great.'

Thus in western Russia the church was divided into the Pravoslavni and the unionists, along with a third party professing Romanism. The Polish government aided the latter, but persecuted the first, with the hope of forming one faith in Poland, and of thus strengthening the state.

Jehoshaphat Koontzevitch was one who zealously spread the union. He had

been nominated bishop of the unionists in the diocese of Polotzk. There he met with a formidable rival in the person of the Pravoslavni bishop, Meletius Smotreetzki, whose eloquent epistles produced a powerful reaction against the sermons of Koontzevitch. The latter then set off to the fort of Vitebsk. There, with the aid of military, much violence was exercised on the Pravoslavni. Their churches were taken by force, and turned into those of the united party. But the Pravoslavni refused to enter these churches, and, beyond the town, erected tents in which divine service was held. Finally, the exasperated populace of Vitebsk revolted, put Koontzevitch to death, and threw his body into the Western Dvina (1623). For committing that crime the inhabitants were severely punished by the Polish government. Many citizens were executed, and the town of Vitebsk was deprived of the Magdeburg rights. The body of Koontzevitch was dragged out of the river and interred with great solemnity. He, in fact, was considered as a holy martyr; and legends were current concerning miracles performed at his tomb. Even his former adversary, Meletius Smotreetzki, betrayed the Pravoslavni party, and joined that of the unionists. That change was also considered by Romanists, and those favourable to the union, as an additional miracle of Koontzevitch.

Meanwhile, the Russo-Greek church, while carrying on an energetic struggle with Romanists and unionists, endeavoured at the same time to make use of their arms, or, in other words, sermons, theological writings, and schools for the education of youth. Amongst those schools, the academy of Kiev subsequently became very famous. The most remarkable rector of that academy was the archimandrite Peter Mogila, afterwards promoted to the dignity of metropolitan of Kiev.

The academy of Kiev originated from a school which, towards the close of the sixteenth century, was founded by the brotherhood of the Bogoiavlenski church. In 1614 the school was burned; but, during the following year, it was rebuilt by a rich woman named Anna Gogoolevitchevna at her own expense. The prosperity of the school began from the time of Peter Mogila. The family of Mogila belonged to the Moldavian aristocracy, and among its members had numbered several Moldavian and Walachian Hospodars. While still young, Peter Mogila served in the Polish army. Then he entered the Kiev-Petscherski monastery; and, thanks to his family influence and alliance with the Polish nobles, he was directly nominated archimandrite of the cloister. Distinguished by his zeal for the Pravoslavni party, Peter Mogila immediately turned his attention to popular instruction as the chief means of opposing the union. At his own expense, he sent several youths abroad to foreign academies in order to

form good teachers, and proposed to found a special school attached to his own monastery. But, at the request of the Bogoiavlenski brotherhood, Mogila abandoned that plan, and assumed the special direction of the brotherhood's schools. Soon Mogila was promoted to the position of metropolitan of Kiev (1633). He then transformed that school into a college, organised after the model of Jesuit colleges and academies in Poland and western Europe. In the academy of Kiev, also, preference was given to Latin, in which language most scientific works of the epoch were written. The pupils were obliged to write Latin compositions, and to speak to each other only in Latin. Subsequently, clerical institutions in all Russia were organised according to that method. The importance of the Kiev academy in the history of Russian instruction is visible from the fact that among its pupils were nearly all the best theological writers and Russian bishops during the second half of the seventeenth and the greater part of the eighteenth centuries.

The nobles of western Russia, at the appearance of the union, with considerable zeal endeavoured to maintain the Greek religion. At the diet and senate of Warsaw, Russian ambassadors often complained that the rights and privileges granted by other kings to the Russian population had been violated. But during the reign of Sigismund III., 1587-1632, these complaints were, for the greater part, useless. The following is a specimen of a complaint made to the senate during the diet of 1623. A petty Russian nobleman thus expresses himself:—

‘For twenty-eight years we, Russian people, in each diet, have reported to you concerning the great injustice and harassment which we suffer from our apostate metropolitans and bishops (of the union). With tears we have besought your nobles to intercede with his gracious majesty the king regarding the deliverance of the Russian people from the above-mentioned oppression. But till now we have not obtained what we demand. At present, if a petty Russian nobleman endeavours to procure any situation, he is immediately asked if he is a unionist or not. A Russian of the Greek faith now can with difficulty procure a senator's chair near the king. Formerly, there were many, and now, not one! Even any rural or civic function is denied to a Russian of the Greek church. Our apostates in many towns have taken away our churches, and sealed up others. Our clergy are neither allowed to bury nor to baptize publicly. All that must be done in secret at night, because any citizens then seized are severely punished, while priests are arrested and driven out of the town.’

After the death of Sigismund III. (1632), at the elective diet the Russian ambassadors succeeded in once more enforcing new regulations concerning the freedom of the Greek church. The new king, Vladislav IV., confirmed these

regulations of the diet or 'Constitution.' But the pope declared them contrary to the laws of God and man, so that, as usual, they remained unfulfilled. Meanwhile, the approaching insurrection of peasants against the nobles (pans) induced the greater number of the western Russian nobility to form a close alliance with the petty Polish proprietors; while education at Jesuit academies and colleges, as well as the desire to obtain all privileges granted to the petty Polish nobles, induced many Russians to embrace Catholicism. Thus it came to pass that during the second half of the seventeenth century the greater part of the nobles in south-western Russia had become completely Polish, and had forgotten the language and religion of their forefathers. Then, also, these apostate nobles became totally estranged from the lower orders; and, although the latter were kept in complete subjection by the higher class, they, notwithstanding, still remained Russian and professed the Greek religion.

The most distinguished families of south-western Russia, descended from the ancient Russian nobility, after changing their religion and language, already considered themselves purely Polish. We have formerly seen that the son of Constantine Ostrojski, the famous defender of the Greek faith, even during his father's life embraced the religion of Rome.

In this wise was dissolved the only bond of union between the higher ranks, or aristocracy, and the lower orders in western Russia.

POSITION OF PEASANTS

Besides the difference of religious opinion, the chief cause of enmity between the Russian and the Polish population was occasioned by the oppressed state of the lower classes. During a more remote epoch the peasants, or agricultural class, enjoyed personal freedom. But when the aristocracy obtained more and more political right, and when the petty nobles held the fate of the state in their hands, the peasants lost their freedom. In Poland, even earlier than in Russia, they were deprived of liberty to change their dwelling. When the dynasty of Yagello became extinct, and when the Polish throne became elective, the nobles completely attached the peasants to themselves, so that, at the close of the sixteenth century, peasants, previously designated as 'bondmen,' were already in a state of slavery. From Poland, properly so called, that slavery extended to south-western Russian districts, where it was legally confirmed by Lithuanian judicial law. The Polish pans (nobles) and Polonised Russian proprietors, if they neither went abroad nor resided in capital cities of the state, lived at their own properties in the midst of extraordinary luxury. Each of them maintained at his castle an immense number of servants and even a domestic militia,

principally composed of petty nobles, so that the retinue of a distinguished pan was like the royal court on a smaller scale. All the burden of the pan's great expenses fell upon the poor bondmen, who were loaded with different taxes and imposts. 'The peasants of Ukraine are tormented as in purgatory, while proprietors, meanwhile, enjoy the happiness of paradise,' according to one expression in a *Description of Ukraine* by a French engineer, Beauplan, who served the Polish kings Sigismund III. and Vladislav IV.

Besides, Polish proprietors did not transact business themselves; they let their land to Jews, who endeavoured to extort as much as possible from the peasants. To so great a degree were the latter oppressed that sometimes whole villages were depopulated by the flight of their inhabitants. Many of the bondmen fled to the adjacent Russian state, while others joined the Cossacks. This oppression was much increased by the appearance of Catholicism, and by the union, when a bond of religion ceased to exist between the lower orders and the nobles, and when the latter considered their peasants as heretics. The Jews did not fail to make use of the union as a means of enriching themselves; hired from proprietors even Greek churches, and levied contributions on religious services and rites.

JEWES

Jews were to be found in Russian Kiev even during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, although not in great numbers. At that epoch a Jewish colony flourished in the Crimea—*i.e.* the sect of the Karaims, or Jews who did not acknowledge the Talmud. That sect also predominated in Hazaria. The devastation occasioned by the Tartars prevented the prosperity of Jewish colonies in the south. But at that period there began a great influx of Jews (Talmudists) from the west. The persecution to which they were exposed in Germany, especially during the crusades, induced many to emigrate thence to other countries. Jews found greater toleration and freedom to exercise their religion in Polish territories, and accordingly began to arrive there in crowds. They enjoyed special protection from King Casimir the Great, who granted them various privileges. Tradition reports that he was urged to act thus, from his attachment to a beautiful Jewess named Esther.

The rights and privileges granted to Jews were confirmed and extended by King Sigismund I. Jews, moreover, obtained permission to carry on trade and commerce quite freely. What was more, the Jewish consistory was granted the right of self-government and of self-judgment. Administration of Jewish affairs was placed in the hands of the rabbins, who formed the clerical and, at the same time,

the learned classes. The gifted Jewish race—placed by historic fate in an unfavourable position with regard to other nations—gradually multiplied in all the towns and spots of western Russia, and there monopolised a considerable part of trade. Multiplication of Jews, oppression exercised by petty nobles, and especially religious persecution, hindered the prosperity of western Russian towns, and caused the entire ruin of citizens—*i.e.* the middle classes of the native population. As usurers, innkeepers, tenants of estates, collectors of contributions and dues, Jews, in no small degree, contributed to oppress the peasants. In several diets, complaints were made against Jews. Petitions were also made to lessen their privileges. But these demands remained unheeded, for the Polish aristocracy protected Jews. The former had constantly need of money to maintain luxury, and found what they wished from Jews, while the latter knew how to extort funds from peasants. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, nearly all the Polish kings protected Jews, till the reign of Sobieski, and including him. This was much aided by court doctors being Jews.

Meanwhile, Jews in reality had no definite citizenship. They lived apart from the people and were despised by the petty nobles; yet, notwithstanding, maintained a separate existence, and even spoke a separate language—corrupted German. Jews were, moreover, obliged to wear a peculiar dress. Of course, in such circumstances, patriotic feeling could not exist among them; and, involuntarily, Jews assumed the character of a stranger race in the land which had become to them like a second native country.

In addition to the terrible oppression of serfs at this epoch, they were also doomed to support other evils. These were the offences and violence of the so-called 'Jolners,' or hired Polish forces, who were placed in districts and maintained at the cost of the local inhabitants. The inevitable results of political and religious oppression were the impoverishment of the lower orders, and their degraded conditions of morality, particularly in White Russia. Amongst the Little Russian races, that oppression aroused energetic resistance and even bloody revenge from the Little Russian Cossacks.

LITTLE RUSSIAN OR UKRAINE COSSACKS¹

Little Russian or Ukraine Cossacks lived on both sides of the Dnieper, or the regions now included in the governments of Kiev, Poltava, and the southern part of Podolsk. The Polish government soon understood the importance of that warlike class, which might prove a firm defence to the state on the side of the neighbouring Tartar hordes.

Already did Sigismund I. endeavour to submit the Cossacks to military

discipline, and to give them a regular organisation. That organisation was completed by Stephen Batory, and, subsequent to his reign, had the following form:—Cossack colonies were divided into circuits or armies, named from towns, such as Periaslavski, Tscherkasski, Meergorodski, etc., to the amount of twenty. The commander or hetman of all the Cossacks was confirmed in his dignity by the king. The emblems of the hetman's power were a military standard, a staff of command, a mace, and a seal. After the hetman came the military elders, including baggage-masters, judges, scribes, gsaoos (captains of Cossacks), horoonges (Cossack cornets), colonels, centurions, and atamans (Cossack chiefs). Notwithstanding, Stephen Batory was eventually convinced that it was difficult to exercise direct kingly power over Cossacks, and that they might become dangerous even to Poland itself. Then he endeavoured to weaken their power and to prevent its development by instituting a class of 'enregistered Cossacks,' whose numbers were at first limited to six thousand men. These enregistered Cossacks received pay from government, formed a separate militia organised like the Hungarian frontier guards, and were named heydukes. As for the remaining Cossacks, they, according to the king's plan, were enumerated among the ordinary peasants of the state. But these measures did not produce the desired results. The Cossacks more and more augmented from an influx of better classes. The population of adjacent regions, discontented with an oppressed condition, could not become reconciled to it.

It thus came to pass that, although the Cossack hetman acknowledged the king's supremacy, notwithstanding, in important affairs, he very often not only acted without his consent, but even contrary to his commands.

From the Ukraine or town Cossacks, who led a settled family life, it is necessary to distinguish those towards the south, along the Lower Dnieper, who bore the names of 'Neezovi' or 'Zaporojski'—from *neezovia*, the lower current of a river; *za*, beyond; and *porog*, rapid. The Zaporojski Cossacks, although included as inhabitants of the Polish state, in reality formed a totally independent class, which submitted to no outward power. That was the cradle of the real Cossackship.

Southwards, amid desert steppes, the Dnieper, along a considerable extent of country, is partially embanked by rows of huge stones (the rapids), which are concealed beneath water, or become black at its surface. Partially, too, the river is restrained in its course by steep banks and many stone islands. After flowing past these rocky barriers, the stream passes onwards to a wide bed, with level, sloping banks, and glides smoothly along to a marshy gulf. During the course of the Dnieper, it is covered with an archipelago of low-lying islands, full of tall,

thick reeds. These shaggy, miry isles served as the very best places of refuge for the free Cossack volunteers. Only the flat-bottomed boats of the Zaporowski could sail along the shallow current between the islands, where plundered booty was concealed. The Zaporowski Cossacks gradually formed themselves into a kind of military brotherhood, with its own peculiar customs and statutes. In one of the above-mentioned islands, the chief resort or 'sietsch' of the Zaporowski generally took place, particularly in the island of Hortitz. Indeed, it appeared like a fortified camp. Supreme power was vested in a Cossack assembly—'Vietsché,' or 'Rada.' The 'Rada' chose a chief baggage-master ataman, who, during an expedition, possessed unlimited power over the troops. This military brotherhood was divided into villages of Cossacks, who chose an ataman for themselves. The Zaporowski Cossacks lived in huts woven of brushwood and sticks, and went to dine together at one table. The exact number of the Zaporowski Cossacks was not estimated. In the sietsch, or Cossack company, every newly arrived individual of the Greek faith was received. He remained there as long as he pleased. The Zaporowski led an unmarried life; and women were not admitted into the sietsch under pain of capital punishment.

The Zaporowski Cossacks were generally augmented by persons of an unquiet, warlike disposition. From neighbouring Polish and Moscovite districts, all discontented with their condition, all unable to support oppression, or who sought a more extensive sphere for their activity, wended their way to the Zaporowski Cossacks. The latter were in close alliance with the Little Russian and the Don Cossacks. Along with them and others, the Zaporowski not unfrequently sailed along in their light boats to the Black Sea, and plundered its shores, while in neighbouring steppes constant skirmishes took place between Zaporowski detachments and Tartar horsemen.

It is thus that Beauplan, the French engineer above mentioned, describes an expedition of steppe Cossacks and their meeting with Tartars:—

'The Cossacks, knowing the great danger which they incur while crossing the steppes, only do so in a large company or caravan, *i.e.* between two rows of carts, closed in before and behind by eight to ten vehicles. The Cossacks themselves, armed with darts, arquebuses, and scythes on long spear-staffs, walk along in the midst of the caravan. Around it ride the best horsemen. Besides, in all four directions, one Cossack is sent out to make observations. Whenever he sees the enemy he gives a signal, and the caravan stops. It happened to me, also, that I crossed the steppes with fifty or sixty Cossacks. The Tartars, numbering five hundred men, attacked our caravan, but could do it little harm; and we also did not much injure them, for they only from a distance threatened

an attack, without advancing to a gunshot space. They merely fired a cloud of arrows above our heads and disappeared.'

The Polish government, urged by the threats of the Turkish sultan, endeavoured by force to prevent predatory Cossack expeditions on the Black Sea, and built forts near the rapids. But such measures only increased the spirit of discontent among the Cossacks. And when the union was introduced in western Russia, together with persecution of the Greek church and the oppression of the people by the nobles, a whole series of Cossack insurrections took place in Ukraine. Among Cossack chiefs, from the epoch of 1593 till 1638, the most remarkable in the struggle with Poland were Halivalko, Taras, Pavliook, and Ostranitz. Only one Little Russian hetman of that period, Konastievitch Sagaidatchni, though he remained a firm supporter of the Greek faith, notwithstanding gained the esteem of the Polish government, and lived in peace with the party of the nobles. He died in 1622. Cossack insurrections were accompanied with hideous cruelty on both sides; while, at the estates of Polish nobles, small bands of Cossack robbers, or so-called 'Gaeedamaks,' committed hateful atrocity. But gradually the party of the nobles, aided by hired regular forces, succeeded in subduing the insurgents. The leaders of the insurrection underwent cruel execution, and Little Russia groaned under a heavier burden than before. After the unsuccessful insurrections against government by the chiefs Gooni and Ostranitz in 1638, it seemed as if the strength of the Cossacks was broken, and Ukraine at rest. But ten years later, extraordinary oppression again excited a general revolt of all the people, during the time of Bogdan Hmelneetzki.

In this wise both unions, political and religious, did not gain their ends—in other words, the entire separation of western from eastern Russia, and the union of the latter as one state with Poland. On the contrary, a fierce struggle ensued between two nations and two religions, and thus prepared the fall of Poland.

CHAPTER LXXIV

REIGN OF ALEXIS ('ALEXEI') MICHAELOVITCH, 1645-1676

THE new sovereign ascended the throne in his sixteenth year. Like his good-natured father Michael, Alexei was remarkable for gentleness and capability of deep attachment to those around him. Notwithstanding, his mind and disposition in general were both more lively than those of Michael had been.

Besides, Alexei had also the superior advantage of education more suited to his exalted position. His tutor was the boyardine Boris Ivanovitch Morozov, who had, without absence, passed thirteen years constantly beside his youthful charge. Alexis had a sincere attachment to his tutor. As we have already seen, Michael Feodorovitch, too, much loved and esteemed Morozov, and, when dying, committed to his special care the young prince about to ascend the throne. Morozov was a clever, active man, well educated for his time—one, too, who thoroughly understood the new wants of the state. But unfortunately he had too little magnanimity. Accordingly, he was incapable of sacrificing his own petty, personal interests for the general good of the people. From the very commencement of the new reign it was observable that government was invested in the hands of a man who knew how to administer affairs wisely and with dignity. At once two unpleasant circumstances of a previous reign terminated—Prince Valdemar was honourably dismissed to Denmark, and Ian Faustinus Looba was sent back to Poland.

On learning that the Crimean Tartars had invaded Ukraine, the new government was unwilling to be content merely with a defensive war, as had previously been the case, and orders were given to voevodes to march against Azoph. At the same time, conferences took place with Poland, and proposals made that it should act conjointly with Russia against the Crimea. The ambassador of King Vladislav was a nobleman professing the Russo-Greek faith and named Adam Kisel. In presence of the youthful Moscovite sovereign, Kisel eloquently extolled the propitious epoch of permanent union between two powerful Slavonian states, caused, by the finger of Providence, to spring from one root like two goodly cedars of Lebanon, and eulogised the coming time when Slavonians, as of old, would join together and fill the whole world with the glory of their name. But that advantageous outward condition at the commencement of the new reign was very far from corresponding with the internal wants of the Moscovite state, for the people were burdened with heavy taxes. Merchants, too, were impoverished from the same reason, and also in consequence of physical calamities, such as the failure of crops and disease among cattle. Finally, the sad condition of judicial judgment produced baneful effects.

At the beginning of 1648 Alexei Michaelovitch was married to Maria Ileenishna Meeloslavski, daughter of Ilia (Elijah) Danilovitch Meeloslavski, the Stolnik, or Grand Master of the Imperial Table—an undistinguished individual. Morozov, in order to strengthen his own position, then married another daughter of Meeloslavski, and thus became related to the new Cesarevna.

We have already noticed the base intrigues which took place at the marriage

of Michael Feodorovitch. A similar scene was likewise enacted when Alexei was in search of a bride. Among two hundred fair young maidens brought for inspection to the palace, the choice of Alexei fell on the daughter of a nobleman named Vsevolojiski. On learning what had happened, the young person, from emotion, fainted. Whereupon her enemies immediately raised the report that she had epilepsy. So she and her relations were sent in exile to Siberia. According to other reports, and with the superstitious belief of the times, 'young Vsevolojiski had been spoiled with the evil eye of an envious boyarina (lady) at court.'

The young sovereign's father-in-law, Meeloslavski, was an arrogant, avaricious man, who made use of his new position in order to bestow lucrative posts on his own relatives, so they soon began to flourish. Besides, the people dreaded the preference for foreign manners and customs, remarkable both in Alexei and in Morozov; for the use of tobacco was already permitted, but to sell it was the exclusive right of the treasury. In a word, the internal condition of the Moscovite state still bore deep traces of the 'troubulous times.' The people were, at this epoch, particularly irritated by a new tax on salt—an article of the first necessity. This, together with oppression from individuals in office, produced great and general discontent, which finally broke out in an open revolt of the Moscovite populace during the summer of 1648.

Those who had been victims of injustice from persons in office had more than once presented petitions to the boyards, to be in turn forwarded to Alexei. But these petitions never reached their destination. Exasperated in the highest degree, the populace rose in open rebellion, and put two hated officials to death. They were the Okolnitchi¹ Plesheev and a secretary of the council, Nazare Tschees, a former merchant of Yaroslav. The enraged mob next plundered the houses of Morozov and those of several other nobles. On the following day there broke out in Moscow a terrible fire, which was again succeeded by sedition. The people next demanded Morozov himself and the Okolnitchi Trahaniatov for capital punishment. Trahaniatov was given up, but Morozov was concealed in the palace. It was meanwhile surrounded by a hired German guard. Then the boyarine Nikita (Nicetas) Ivanovitch Romanov, the sovereign's grand-uncle, a great favourite of the people, rode forward to an open space of the city. Holding his boyarine's hat in his hand, he urged the crowd to disperse; and, in the name of Alexis, faithfully promised that all petitions would be heard. So the mob scattered. Alexei had thus succeeded in saving Morozov, and secretly sent him away to the Kirillo-Bielozerski monastery (government of Novogorod).

¹ An officer immediately near the sovereign's person—from the word *okolæ*, near.

When the agitation had passed, and when the posts of hated officials were occupied by others, in reality good and liked by the people, Alexei, on one occasion during a church procession with crosses held aloft, publicly addressed the people. He expressed sorrow that any had suffered from injustice done in his name but totally without his knowledge, promised to lessen the price of salt, to abolish monopoly; and finally, with tears in his eyes, the young sovereign implored that Morozov should not be given up to popular fury—Morozov, his teacher and second father! The people, deeply touched, replied by loud acclamations: 'Long live Alexei Michaelovitch! Let the will of God and of our sovereign be done!'

So Morozov returned to Moscow. True, he no longer occupied the position of administrator. Notwithstanding, for some time he still continued to be the chief adviser of Alexei; and, it is said, even succeeded in gaining the people's esteem. Some, however, endeavoured once more, though unsuccessfully, to excite a revolt against Morozov and Meeloslavski.

But sedition did again break out in various spots, such as in Solievevtschigodsk (government of Vologda), on account of the violence of a collector of dues. The said individual was named Preeklonski. Then the inhabitants of Oostivog (government of Vologda) also rebelled against the extortion of a clerk Michaelov, spoiled by the boyarine Michael Vasilievitch Meeloslavski. Michaelov was killed by the enraged populace. That sedition was, however, easily quelled; but it was more difficult to restore peace in Pskov and Novgorod.

By the treaty of Stolbov the Swedes had received certain Russian districts, many of whose inhabitants fled from their former native country. According to stipulation, these fugitives should have been returned. But Alexis in no wise wished to give up his subjects, professing the Russo-Greek faith, to a Lutheran government. So a new treaty was made, by which Alexis obliged himself to pay to the Swedes 191,000 roubles for the fugitives. Part of that sum was to be paid in corn (11,000 measures) sent from Pskov. But that decree caused a revolt in Pskov. Reports were spread that the traitor Morozov was sending away money and grain to the Germans, who, by agreement with him, would soon appear before Pskov and Novgorod. A Swede named Noomens, who, in February 1650, had brought money from Moscow, was seized by the Pskovians, tortured, and placed under guard. A voevode—Prince Lvov—and Prince Volhonski, sent from Moscow to make investigations, were nearly killed. The archbishop Macarius was twice loaded with chains. The sedition of Pskov soon appeared in Novgorod also. There, on March 15, a Danish ambassador was seized and beat, on pretext that he too was taking money from Moscow to the

Germans. The Strelitz next joined the rebels. A small number of nobles could give the voevode Prince Hilkov no assistance. Whereupon the metropolitan Nikon resolved to act by clerical arms. In the Cathedral of Saint Sophia he solemnly imprecated the authors of the revolt. That measure caused great discontent among them. They made use of circumstances, and, at the first complaint against Nikon, they rushed towards his dwelling. Nikon went out, hoping to quell the disquiet; but the rebels seized him and nearly beat him to death. An imperial document was then received, commanding the rebels to submit, and to deliver up the leaders of the revolt. It was, however, in vain that Nikon urged the Novgorodians to obey the sovereign's orders. The metropolitan's exhortations were only effectual when Prince Hovanski advanced to Novgorod with a powerful force. On April 20 the Novgorodians finally submitted, and delivered up the ringleaders, only one of whom was executed, in order to satisfy the demands of the Danish ambassador. Nikon, meanwhile, powerfully pleaded for indulgence. He sent an admonitory epistle to Pskov; but the answer was only a rude refusal. The Pskovians resolved to oppose Prince Hovanski, who had only a small force, and therefore could not undertake a successful siege against a large town well furnished with provisions. Although several sallies of the besieged against the imperial troops were unsuccessful, Pskov, notwithstanding, maintained its ground till the middle of August. At that time there came from Moscow clerical individuals, along with a chosen number of nobles and merchants, in order to intimate a general pardon. Whereupon the Pskovians submitted, and delivered up the chief rebels.

CHAPTER LXXV

LEGISLATION—FINANCIAL EMBARRASSMENT

WHEN sedition had ceased among the Moscovite populace—excited to revolt by Morozov's bad administration and the oppression of those in office—Alexei Michaelovitch, according to the advice of the higher clergy and members of the state council, resolved on the following legislative measures. He ordered a selection to be made from different statutes of fathers of the Greek church, as well as from those of Greek sovereigns, and from Lithuanian statutes. Then he collected the ukazes of Russian princes, and the sentences pronounced by boyards. Finally, he compared, corrected, and added clauses to them which were missing. This new collection of laws was entitled the 'Soborni Oolojenié,' or 'Code of the Council.' In order to confirm these laws, Alexis summoned an assembly of states-

general, or a select number of individuals belonging to different conditions. These chosen members met in the so-called 'Hall of Responses,' and were presided by Prince Youree Dolgorooki. Before them the 'Oolojenié,' or 'Code of Alexis,'^{1649—} was read aloud, as composed by the Moscovite boyards and secretaries. Then the collection was signed by those present. <sup>Oolojenié,
or Code of
Alexis.</sup>

The titles of some chapters of the 'Oolojenié' are as follows: 'Concerning blasphemy and sedition in the Church'; 'Concerning the sovereign's honour and the care of his health'; 'Concerning the service of the military, of judges,' etc. Compared with the 'Soodebnik,' or 'Code of Ioann III.,' the 'Oolojenié,' or 'Code of Alexis,' proves the advanced state of Moscovite independence, and the political importance of the Greek church. The severest punishments are those inflicted for offences against it, as also for disrespect to the sovereign's name, or for designs against him—'The sovereign's words and acts.'

During the same year that the 'Code of Alexis' was issued, a very important change took place in the interior commerce of Russia. Even during the reign of Michael Feodorovitch, Russian merchants had complained of the privileges granted to Englishmen. The latter were permitted to trade without paying any duty, and soon amassed large capital. They thus monopolised all the chief commerce, so that only petty trade remained to Russian merchants. Accordingly, Alexei Michaelovitch paid attention to these complaints. He took advantage of the Revolution in England, and issued a ukaze to the effect that English traders were to be expelled from interior districts of the state. They were only allowed to remain in Archangel, and there to carry on ordinary commerce, while paying the usual dues. Amongst other reasons which prompted Alexis to issue this ukaze, the following are specially mentioned:—The secret importation of tobacco and various prohibited articles to Russia; the exportation from Russia of forbidden articles of trade, such, for example, as raw silk; and finally, in the estimation of Alexis, the capital crime of all Englishmen at that epoch was 'that they had committed a very wicked act by putting their king Charles to death.'

That ukaze, so unjust towards private individuals, who, after all, could only render account of their own actions, but not those of statesmen, produced baneful effects on Russia, and was not without influence on financial embarrassment, which soon after ensued. When English merchants were expelled from interior towns, the influx of foreign silver in Russia was considerably lessened. Besides, war, which speedily began with Poland, demanded great efforts and large expense from the state. It had not at this epoch its own precious metal, because there were no individuals who could seek it out and work mines. The chief material for issuing

metal coin was obtained by trade with foreigners. Foreign merchants, such as English, Dutch, and those of the Hanseatic League, along with articles of commerce, were also obliged to bring silver in various forms, *i.e.* either in bars or in money. All that silver was melted into Russian coins, with great profit to the state. For example, a Dutch dollar, received at the treasury as forty-two kopecks, was re-coined into sixty-four kopecks. (Ilovaiski, *Brief Outline of Russian History*, p. 181.)

1655.

When the want of silver money became greatly felt, Alexis, by advice of an Okolnitchi, Rteeshev, ordered copper kopecks to be struck, which were to have the same value as those in silver. At first that measure succeeded. Copper and silver money current had equal value, for the exchange of both was continual. But the issue of copper money was intrusted to persons at once ignorant and grasping. Among them were the sovereign's father-in-law Meeloslavski and his relations. They gradually began to collect all the silver money for the treasury, and to issue copper without moderation. Meanwhile, a great deal of false money also appeared. An inevitable result of such disorder was the speedy fall in value of copper coins, compared with those in silver, so that, during the course of five years, copper became fifteen times cheaper than silver. The evil did not abate, in spite of severe punishment of false coiners (melted metal was poured down their throats). Provisions of the first necessity, and all articles of commerce, became exceedingly expensive. Those who most suffered by this increase of expense were individuals in service; for they received wages in money at its nominal value. In fact, the state was threatened by general ruin. Great murmurs were heard among the people, and speedily they broke out into open revolt. The Moscovite populace rushed to Kolomensk, the favourite summer residence of Alexei Michaelovitch, and there demanded that some hated boyards, the Meeloslavski, Rteeshev, and others, should be given up. Alexis thereupon ordered his courtiers to surround him, and, along with a newly arrived detachment of Strelitz, attacked the crowd of rebels. Many were seized or killed. Others took flight. Subsequently, another ukaze was issued by which copper money was to be revoked, and all payment was henceforth to be made in silver, as had previously been the case. But the Moscovite state did not soon recover from this great financial embarrassment.

1662.

CHAPTER LXXVI

STEPHEN TIMOFÉEV RAZINE—MOVEMENT AMONG THE COSSACKS AND THE PEASANTS

IN general, the reign of Alexis Michaelovitch was not only distinguished by outward war, but also by much internal sedition. However, the government, with comparative ease, quelled insurrection in different towns; but a great deal more strength was required to subdue sedition among the Cossacks.

The revolts of the seventeenth century may be considered as echoes of the 'troubled times.' But, in a great many, we also remark a continuation of the struggle between the old appanaged system and administration in the Moscovite state, which, more and more, had taken root among the people, and attached them to the government. In other words, the system of concentration was established.

During the seventeenth century, the Cossacks were powerful in all south-eastern Russia, from the banks of the southern Boog to Yaik (Ural). The Cossacks passed beyond that river and penetrated to distant Siberia. The centre of this power in European Russia was the level region of the river Don. During the reign of Michael Feodorovitch, the Don Cossacks had definitively acknowledged the supremacy of Moscow over themselves. They had promised to give up robbery and attacks on neighbours. But such promises were very rarely kept. On the Don, as in Little Russia, the Cossack condition was divided into two chief classes, *i.e.* 'the wealthy, or domestic Cossacks,' and the 'poor, or hungry.' Meanwhile, the former were more inclined to keep order and to submit to the Moscovite state, whereas the 'hungry Cossacks' included an unquiet crowd, always ready to live at the cost of others, or to 'obtain a smoke-frock for themselves,' according to their own expression. The number of 'hungry Cossacks' was constantly augmented by an influx of runaway bondmen, peasants, and others inhabiting the boundaries of the Moscovite state. Of course, the Don did not restore such fugitives, and, having once reached the Cossack station, they considered themselves free Cossacks. All that multitude of famished volunteers only awaited a suitable leader, in order to assemble around him for plunder, and for war with Moscow. Such a leader appeared in the person of a simple Don Cossack, Stephen Timoféev Razine, or 'Stenko,' in familiar language. His brother Frolo, too, was conspicuous in the movement.

It is said that hatred to the Moscovite government and a thirst for revenge were engendered in Razine's mind during the epoch of war with Poland, when his

elder brother, for some breach of discipline, perished on a gibbet, by order of the voevode Prince Dolgorooki. 'Stenko' Razine was strikingly remarkable among a crowd of his associates on account of his physical strength and untiring energy. Thus he, without difficulty, assembled around him several hundreds of daring adventurers like himself. He rushed to the Volga, and there plundered a caravan of vessels sailing to Astrachan with various provisions and articles of trade. Next he penetrated to the Yaik (Ural), where his gang was speedily augmented by new volunteers. Hence the Cossacks, by the Caspian Sea, sailed towards the south, devastated the shores of Persia, defeated the Persian fleet, and, laden with booty, returned to the mouth of the Volga. The voevode of Astrachan intimated to the Cossack ataman that Alexei Michaelovitch would pardon him and his followers, and permit them quietly to return, if they would deliver up Persian prisoners, along with persons in service, and cannons seized in towns, and vessels of the crown. Razine accepted these proposals and offered submission. However, he was very far from fulfilling all the stipulations. When Razine (1669) returned to the Don, the fame of his exploits and of his wealth, plundered by the Cossacks, attracted to him from all quarters a crowd of hungry followers. Among the latter were a number of Zaporog Cossacks. By his affable manners, 'Stenko' knew how to gain the good-will of the multitude, and was soon at the head of a considerable force.

The report was finally spread that Razine was marching against the hated Moscovite boyards. Accordingly, in 1670, he again appeared on the Volga, took Tsaritzine, and moved towards Astrachan. There the Strelitz and the populace joined the side of the Cossacks. Thus that important town was taken, nearly without a struggle. A number of the commanders and better class of citizens were killed. Their property and merchants' shops were plundered. Thence the ataman sailed up the Volga, took Saratov, Samarov, and went still further. A report was then spread that along with Razine's forces was the Cesarevitch Alexei (who had died at the commencement of the same year), and also patriarch Nikon, deposed from his office. The adherents of Razine were dispersed among the districts of the Moscovite state, and excited the lower orders to revolt against the boyards and those in office, while promising to all Cossack freedom. The revolt quickly spread over the whole region between the Oka and the Volga. Peasants put landed proprietors to death. In towns, the populace was enraged against the better class of citizens. The foreign races of the Volga were likewise in a state of revolt (*i.e.* the Tscheremeesi, the Mordvi, the Tartars). Razine's forces finally assumed vast numbers. Notwithstanding, a single failure was sufficient to dissipate all the people's confidence in the Cossacks, and to prove that they were

incapable of maintaining a struggle with the forces of the state. Before Simbirsk, 'Stenko' was defeated by Prince Youree Bariatinski, part of whose troops had been trained according to the European military art. Then Razine abandoned the peasants as victims of the voevode, fled to his native regions, and there endeavoured to revolt all the Don. But, in that very direction, Yakoolev, the chief ataman of the Donskoi forces, aided by the 'domestic Cossacks,' seized Razine and sent him a prisoner to Moscow, where he was executed, 6th June. . 1671—

Execution
of Razine.

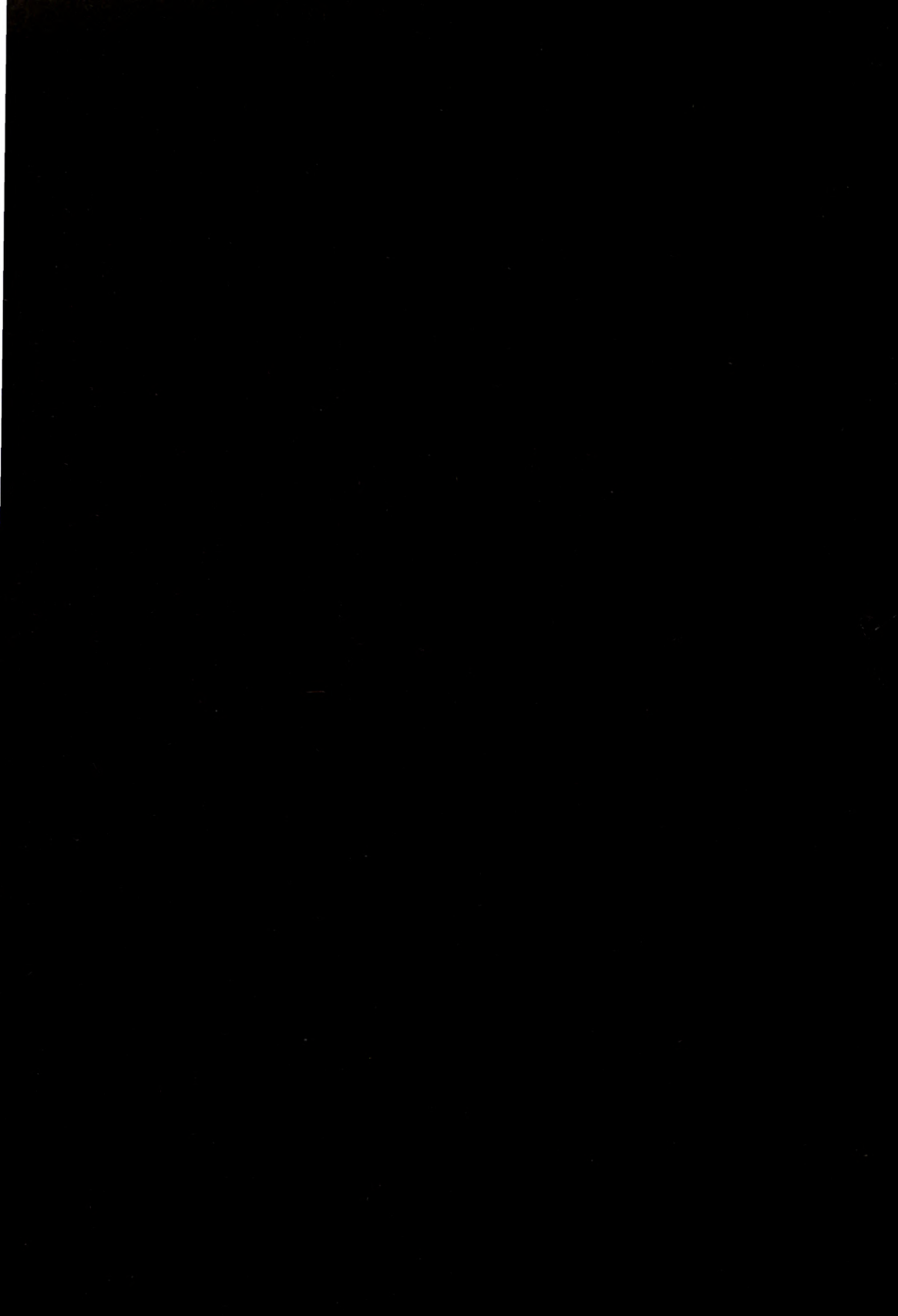
Meanwhile, the imperial voevodes, after several decided victories over a crowd of peasants and other rebels, succeeded in restoring tranquillity to the interior of the state. Only in Astrachan, for some time, Cossack gangs, commanded by an ataman, Vaska Oosa, perpetrated many atrocities. Amongst them were those exercised on the metropolitan of Astrachan. He was tortured and then thrown headlong from a belfry. But soon Astrachan also submitted to the Moscovite voevodes, and the chief rebels were executed.

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